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INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RESEARCH

UNDERGRADUATES

R. H. EDWARDS, J. M. ARTMAN, GALEN M. FISHER

The Institute of Social and Religious Research, which is responsible for this publication, was organized in January, 1921, as the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys. It conducts and publishes studies and surveys and promotes conferences for their consideration. The Institute's aim is to combine the scientific method with the religious motive. It coöperates with other social and religious agencies, but is itself an independent organization.

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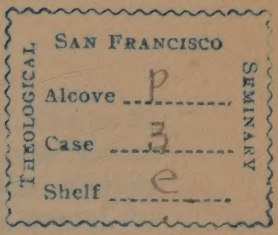
UNDERGRADUATES

A STUDY OF MORALE
IN TWENTY-THREE AMERICAN COLLEGES
AND UNIVERSITIES

BY

R. H. EDWARDS
J. M. ARTMAN
GALEN M. FISHER



DOUBLEDAY, DORAN
AND COMPANY, INC.
GARDEN CITY 1928 NEW YORK

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E382
1928

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First printing, September, 1928
Second printing, October, 1928

UNDERGRADUATES

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

This study was undertaken by the Institute of Social and Religious Research upon the suggestion of the Association of American Colleges. The late President Ernest DeWitt Burton, of Chicago University, was made Chairman of the Advisory Committee, and on his death was succeeded by President W. H. P. Faunce, of Brown University. The other members of the Committee were:

President Cyrus Adler
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The inquirers selected to make the study were Prof. Charles E. Rugh, of the University of California, Miss J. Gertrude Hutton, now of the University of Southern California, and Miss Virginia E. Franke, of Vassar College. Prof. J. M. Artman, then of the University of Chicago, now General Secretary of the Religious Education Association, and Mr. R. H. Edwards, executive of the United Christian Work at Cornell and of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education, were added to the staff of inquirers at an early stage. After Mr. Rugh returned to his regular

duties, the late Prof. Charles F. Kent, of Yale University, Mr. Buel Trowbridge, a former Rhodes Scholar, and Mr. Galen M. Fisher, Executive Secretary of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, participated in visiting three eastern universities.

The main points that emerged from the assembled data were agreed upon by all the inquirers, but the laborious process of analyzing the testimony in detail fell chiefly to Mr. Edwards and his assistants. He also drafted six of the ten chapters, being enabled to do this by the generous contribution of part of his time by the agencies with which he is connected. Mr. Artman contributed interpretative elements to all the chapters and shaped the material for two chapters. Mr. Fisher wrote three chapters and revised them all.

President Farrand, Dean Hawkes, President Ernest H. Wilkins, Dr. Kelly, Miss Sturtevant, President Faunce and other advisors, including several students and religious workers, criticized the draft manuscript. President Wilkins, then Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in the University of Chicago, formulated most of the "Suggestions" in the latter part of Chapter IX. The special thanks of the authors and of the Institute are due not only to the advisors and to many other collaborators but especially to Mr. Mark Entorf, a Fellow of the National Council on Religion in higher Education, Mrs. Anna Camp Edwards, Mrs. H. S. Gabriel, Mrs. J. F. Harriott, and Mr. R. H. McCarthy.

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INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of the inquiry whose results are given in this volume was to obtain at first hand expressions of opinion regarding the conditions and influences affecting the character of undergraduates in the following twenty-three colleges and universities.

Amherst College
Bucknell University
University of Chicago
Cornell University
Dartmouth College
Grinnell College
University of Illinois
University of Kansas
Massachusetts Agricultural College
University of Michigan
Middlebury College
Mount Holyoke College
Ohio Wesleyan University
University of Pennsylvania
Princeton University
Randolph-Macon Women's College
Rockford College
Smith College
Swarthmore College
Wabash College
Wellesley College
University of Wisconsin
Yale University

This group of institutions, scattered in fifteen states from Kansas to New Hampshire, afforded an opportunity to study state and privately controlled foundations, coeducational and non-coeducational institutions, rural and urban locations, and small, large and medium-size student bodies. All were visited between January and October, 1924, and half of them were afterwards revisited by one or more of the inquirers.

The inquiry did not pretend to grapple with technical problems such as curriculum, finance and administrative organization, on which others had already made studies. The authors attempted

to sound the opinion and experience of various kinds of persons regarding undergraduate life and interest, and the bearings of both the formal and the informal educational processes on undergraduate character.

The method adopted was to arrange for interviews, in each of the colleges visited, with persons likely to be well-informed regarding various aspects of the local student life and thought. In every case, the authorities of the college and of the various organizations gave cordial coöperation. Presidents and deans aided the inquirers in securing appointments for interviews but did not attempt to dictate the persons to be interviewed.

In all more than 1,100 such interviews were held—with students, faculty members, administrators, religious workers, athletic directors and others. Especial efforts were made in most of the institutions to interview students elected by their fellows to head important activities. Except for a general statement that the purpose of the inquiry was to ascertain the factors that were building up or undermining the character of students, no attempt was made to give definite direction to the interviews, but witnesses were encouraged to speak of those matters that most interested them, assurance being given that names would not be revealed. The testimony so gathered was recorded by the inquirers as soon after the interviews as possible and has been supplemented by, and interpreted in the light of, the experience and knowledge of the authors. The available documentary material was also freely drawn upon where it seemed desirable. The only important departure from the general method described was the limited use of one questionnaire, the results of which appear in Chapter VII.

It is thus evident that generalizations are not to be drawn from the testimony. The authors believe, however, that the study may reveal in a vivid and thought-provoking way what a wide variety of persons in the colleges are thinking and doing, and may be of value in stimulating to a closer scrutiny of their problems those whose privilege it is to have a hand in the development of student character.

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Chapter I

ENVIRONMENT

PRE-COLLEGIATE INFLUENCES ON CHARACTER

The student bodies of the twenty-three institutions comprised in this inquiry were drawn from all parts of the United States and from many foreign lands.[1] To the inquirers, however, the variety in their cultural backgrounds and the contrasts in their viewpoints and attitudes seemed even more striking than the diversity of their places of birth. Attention was drawn to this point in the following testimony by an alumnus of a university for men:

> The men vary from the modest, hard-working fellows who know the value of a dollar to the soft-handed, spendthrift, forward chaps from wealthy families. At first they don't understand one another very well but after a while they get adjusted. Orientals and Europeans here add a distinct element. It is good for us provincial Americans to be brought face to face with men so refined and high-minded and yet of such different social and religious views.

The various types of girls entering a coeducational university were thus described by the dean of women:

> Some girls come from homes of poverty, with crude ideals, but with a great hunger for the beautiful; some come from homes of sudden wealth, with no taste and no restraint. On the whole the girls have a better social background than the men. Both extremes are represented. At the upper level there is a small group who have finer and stricter standards, and at the bottom level is a group of wilder and more unstable girls than we have had before.

Among other comments bearing on the question were the following:

> They come in part from middle-class homes of moderate means and plain habits; in part from homes of social grace but lacking in fundamental principle. . . . There are city and country girls, and the city girls are almost always harder to handle. (A professor in a college for women.)

[1] See chart on p. 368.

> I have a lot of faith in the boys. There are many chaps with ideals. They have a very genuine quality underneath. But many students have not been taught the connection between life and a real philosophy, a real religion. Of course, they really reflect their homes, 80 per cent. of them. (A professor in a university for men.)

> When I first came I was impressed by the different sorts of men in the class. They all were trying not to be odd but you could generally tell what sort of a home and prep school a fellow had come from. Even the foreign students tried to put on American ways, but of course their racial characteristics and their boyhood training stood out. To me one of the advantages of a fairly large student body is its variety. It helps a man to learn tolerance and to appreciate ideas and standards different from those he got from his parents and uncritically accepted. (A prominent junior in another university for men.)

Faculty members in particular called attention to the decisive part played by the influences surrounding students before college in determining their reactions to the world in which they found themselves at college. The home, the school and the church were mentioned as the most obvious influences affecting students in their pre-collegiate days; but the inquirers were particularly struck by the constant emphasis placed upon the home. Indeed, only a few of those interviewed referred to any other pre-collegiate influence. How nearly impossible educators feel it is to overcome an unfortunate upbringing was frequently revealed in the testimony.

The registrar in a large university expressed the case thus:

> The family background of the man has a great deal to do with his attitude here. If he has a father who is a fine man he runs true anyhow. If the family stands for booze that is reflected here too. You can go so far with a boy from that kind of a home, but you can't do very much with him on the booze question. If his father uses it and serves it in his home, I can't do much to keep the boy straight. I have the repeaters to deal with, the boys who have to be given a second chance. They are frequently from such homes.

An older professor, a philosopher, in a university for men thought the decline of the Christian family as an educational institution an extremely important factor:

> There is little reading of the Bible in homes. Back of this is the fact that parents don't think it worth while to teach the Bible and Christian truths to children. A generation ago these were considered vital.

A religious leader in one of the college towns spoke of the difficulty the churches found in establishing contacts with young people "because so many of them come from homes with no religious standards or with literalist beliefs which break down under scientific study."

A dean in a large coeducational university held parental indulgence to blame for certain difficulties:

> Parents turn students over to educational institutions and expect the students somehow to come out all right. There are many fathers who have won their competence and want their boys to have an education. They give them luxuries like a car that are frequently their sons' undoing. I say to them, "By giving your son a car, etc., you deprive the boy of the very means of discipline which has given you your strength." What chance has a boy got, with $75 a month more than he needs for spending money, a car and a girl? Not a chance for his life. Our problems go back mainly to the home situation and the high schools.

A senior student, the manager of football in a university for men, thus referred to the handicap of poor home training:

> The moral standards men bring to college are likely to stay by them, and if they haven't had the right kind of home training they have nothing to stabilize them when they get into temptation. That is what happened to many of my personal friends who got into wrong relations with women before they realized what was happening.

The effect of relaxation of parental restraint was particularly deplored in regard to girls, as these statements by various witnesses indicate:

> There is danger in the easy way in which parents permit their daughters to own and use automobiles. The blame rests on home carelessness.

> Mothers need a better understanding of what girls are going to need when they get away from home.

> The trouble goes back to the homes. The girls have so much more liberty.

> Some of the girls who are freest in the matter of "petting" think their mothers are very little interested in what they do.

> If a girl has had a good home training she is safe.

By comparison with the home, the influence of preparatory school and church would appear almost negligible were one to

judge solely by the number of witnesses who thought of mentioning them in this connection. The authors are hardly prepared to accept so extreme an interpretation of the evidence, or lack of it; but the reiterated emphasis on the importance of the home, at the apparent expense of other important influences, certainly seems significant at a time when many are discussing seriously the decay of family life and the necessity of finding just such substitutes for it as, by enlargement of their present functions, the school and the church might become.

From the relatively small amount of testimony received on preparatory schools, the authors select the following as of interest:

An experienced officer charged with admissions to a large college for men thus analyzed the preparatory school influences:

> I study the freshman class carefully to see what sort of preparation helps men to succeed in college. We rate the standing of a preparatory school not alone on its ability to get a boy in, but on its ability to prepare men so that they will stay in. The vital factor is frequently the difference between two principals or headmasters. One of these is all the time impressing boys with the fact that they reap what they sow. He shakes hands and talks with every senior every day, and keeps in touch with his graduates by personal letter for years afterwards. They never graduate from that school. You cannot use a form letter for that sort of thing. The headmaster gives himself to his boys. This quality is more or less dissociated from scholastic elements, and is largely a matter of personal influence.

A faculty member at another university for men compared public and private preparatory schools:

> Twenty to 25 per cent. of the boys here are from high schools. The average high-school boy stands much better than the average prep-school boy after he enters the university, for he has been on his own. Private school boys have been too much regulated, have had no responsibilities. There are too many bells ringing. In high schools there is more personal initiative developed. Furthermore, only picked high-school boys usually go to college. It is significant that working students almost invariably do the best college work.

Regarding the influence of the church in pre-collegiate days the following observations of an experienced university pastor seem to the authors to deserve attention:

> I must admit that the church life from which many students come to us sends them quite unprepared for the intellectual

atmosphere of university life. Some are out of sorts with the church altogether. Many have listened to sermons full of misconception and prejudice against the modern views of the Bible and of human life, full of dogmatic opposition to the most enlightened interpretations of the universe. The Sunday schools often send students to us with utterly antiquated ideas of religion and rebellious against their sentimental homilies. Not a few have no church consciousness at all. Our task is immeasurably easier with those who have known ministers and teachers of open mind, strong personality, and an emphasis upon religion as a force in everyday life. Such men and women have laid the foundations for a vigorous Christianity in the college experience of those whom they have influenced.

THE COLLEGE ENVIRONMENT

TRANSITION FROM HOME TO COLLEGE

The transition from home to college is a delicate and momentous experience and is apt to bring out latent strength or weakness. Freshman loneliness and bewilderment are proverbial.

During the first semester of their college life some students are so neglected that they develop a sense of either inferiority or injustice which they carry throughout college days. Others receive such excessive attention in fraternity rushing that a lasting notion of superiority is acquired. Commercial agents besiege the freshman for purchases or subscriptions. Student "competitors for points" exploit the fledgling to amass credit for themselves. He may soon become "hard-boiled" and retire within his shell. Hospitality and orientation worthy of the institution itself and embracing all the new students were apparently rare in the larger universities visited, although orientation courses and "freshman week" seemed to be doing something to meet the need. The transition to the college environment affects students variously. The morale of some is raised and of others lowered by it, while others again are simply baffled and bewildered. According to a faculty member at a large coeducational university:

> The standards of girls in some cases improve considerably here. A few have come from big high schools where conditions and standards were very shady and they have gotten a new set of standards here and toned up.

The questionable effects of early college influences were thus referred to by an upperclassman in a men's college:

> We hold a good many "bull sessions" over week-ends, when there is nothing else to do. We talk about college matters, athletics, past experiences, stories, sex, etc. Most of this is not good for a freshman just out of high school. These sessions usually end up in arguments on all kinds of fool subjects. I have, personally, developed a profane vocabulary which I did not have.

A junior active in student affairs in a large college for men described the religious melting pot and its unsettling effect on him when he was a freshman:

> I have thought much about religion and find a great deal of good influence here but not an influence that helps you find yourself. I was a member of the Congregational Church when I came here. I had a Catholic for a roommate the first year. A very brilliant Jew lived in the next room and another Catholic in the next. Then I took the evolution course, which really started me thinking. We engaged in many arguments for and against things in the Bible, so that I did not really know where I was. The Jew, an atheist, could pick my religion and the Catholic religion to pieces. He knew the Bible through and through. We had some of the hottest arguments about religion. The fact is, a fellow comes here never having really thought about religion and the students talk about it so much that it gets a fellow up in the air. I am sure many of the students are still unsettled when they leave.

A striking contrast is presented in the way the two girls described below made the transition. The first is the story of a senior woman student in a coeducational university who had gone wrong and had been asked to leave:

> She entered college at sixteen. Her family are not university people. She had never been kissed by a man nor had smoked until she came here. She was placed in an outside house with a few other girls. In such a house a girl "floats." There is a loose arrangement of social life. The way she and others like her get off the track is like this. A freshman girl is more apt to believe the brilliant popular fraternity man than any faculty member. Realizing how impressionable she is, he ridicules the Y. W., the Women's League—all women's activities. The freshman girl admires him and loses interest in women's activities on campus and flouts conventional moral standards.

The other girl, a senior and a leader in a coeducational university, thus described her orientation:

> I had been prepared all through high school for entrance to college. I had been active in Y. W. work, and found myself working with girls. Both at home and at school, while all my efforts had met with sufficient praise, I had been told: "That is fine, but do not expect the same thing when you go to college." All my training had been toward sane living. I came with high standards, but with humility, and found the transition not hard, and have not found it difficult to maintain a high moral standard, and to keep my Christian life on a progressive plane. I have dated much, but it is easy for a girl to keep all her relations with men entirely fine and clean if she will.

In their round of the twenty-three colleges the inquirers were impressed anew with the unavoidable responsibility of the institutions for affording the freshmen the best possible orientation to their new life.[2]

Experience has shown that the efforts to smooth the path for the newly matriculated youth can be advantageously shared by the administration with student and community organizations and groups. The various methods used are for the most part too familiar to call for explanation—the handbook (freshman Bible) sent out in advance by mail, the room and board registry, the junior (twin) class guides, the faculty advisers, the receptions by religious societies and by the associated students, and the more formal programs such as "freshman week" and the orientation courses which are arranged by the administration. In a growing number of colleges the authorities and the various religious agencies spare no effort to make the first week a thorough introduction of the freshmen to their new environment. But at sev-

[2] A brilliant recent graduate of a men's university, after reading this chapter, made these practical suggestions toward the better orientation of both parents and students before a man arrives at college:

> The lack of comprehension by the parents of the conditions and problems of college seems one of the chief reasons for the poor preparation for the university afforded by many homes and for the growing estrangement between parents and students during the latter's four years at college.
>
> This situation might be remedied if deans and directors of freshmen sent articles on college problems to the parents of prospective students. These articles would deal with such subjects as "Reasons for Students' Scholastic Failures," "The Advantages and Disadvantages of College Fraternities" with a description of the particular method of election to membership, "A Description of the Several Extra-curricular Activities, Athletic and non-Athletic," "The Different Subjects of the Curriculum and the Educational Principles Underlying their Arrangement." The dean should send the parents a list of possible expenditures by the students while at college and should, by illustrations of past cases, warn the parent of the dangers of excessively large allowances. Suggested methods of remunerative employment should be sent in this same letter. During the student's term in college personal letters by the Faculty Adviser might be sent to the parents.

eral of the larger universities the unmistakable goodwill toward freshmen did not seem to the inquirers to be matched by coördination of efforts among the various agencies, with the result that some newcomers appeared to be neglected and others of them to be in danger of acquiring a confused idea of the buzzing world into which they were being initiated.

ATMOSPHERE AND TRADITIONS

Though several of the institutions visited have sites of great natural beauty, often reinforced by skilful landscaping and architecture, not many of the students interviewed volunteered any comment upon their physical surroundings. The authors prefer to believe that the silence of students upon this particular subject was due not to lack of aesthetic appreciation, but to the kind of reserve expressed in the following quotation:

> I am deeply conscious of the beauty and harmony of the campus. All during freshman year I walked around the campus and almost worshipped. Everybody feels this, though few talk about it.

On the other hand, beauty and quiet, when enjoyed at the price of isolation, may have their drawbacks. As one student expressed it:

> The majority love the campus as it is. We are in a charming country village, where we can dress as we want to. We hate ——. It is an ugly factory city with poor stores. The trouble is that we get awfully provincial. We are shut off up in the hills and don't read the newspapers enough or keep in touch with the main currents of life.

Various social factors within the college will naturally be treated in subsequent chapters. Here attention will be focussed on the standards that exercise an unperceived but powerful influence on all who enter its walls. The prevailing traditions and temper of the institutions studied were considered good by the large majority of the persons who volunteered opinions on the subject. The inquirers often found that traditions which originated at the very beginning of an institution's life were still exercising a surprising influence. The founders have perpetuated themselves from generation to generation. This statement appears to be as true of large as of small institutions.

The following quotations from testimony given at various types of institutions make clear the power of fine traditions:

> The splendid spirit here is accounted for by the high ideals of the men who founded it. Among the potent traditions is independence of thought, handed down from early leaders.
>
> The tradition for decency is so strong here that the "roughnecks" do not apply.
>
> The spirit of the college for me has come to be identical with the Christian spirit.
>
> The girls have always been pretty conservative and have held many fine traditions. The presence of the former president on the hill, with the girls going up on May Day, Christmas and his birthday, when he always addresses them and gives them "something fine," has helped to keep up the original spirit.

The reaction of some students to a strong tradition which may have been over-stressed is shown by the statement made in one college that "the girls make an awful fight against being called a missionary college and go to the opposite extreme."

The power of tradition seemed to the inquirers to be greater in the university cited below than in any of the other institutions studied. A professor in the institution, formerly a teacher in another university, thus described it:

> The society system is a highly organized method of public opinion here. When the administration or faculty really want something done they call in a few seniors, who discuss it and pass it to the juniors, and they go to the sophomores. In this way the entire student body is affected. This college moves almost as a unit. It is ruled by traditions. If one gets drunk, he is condemned by his classmates. An instructor simply cannot get drunk. Opinion is too strong against it.
>
> These college fellows can do anything they want to as far as the faculty is concerned, but if a student steps out of bounds he loses standing in the eyes of his mates. Even ——'s son failed to be elected by the senior society he wanted. This public opinion is so strong that it comes to be a great responsibility for the members of these societies. It is the most powerful pedagogic instrument I have ever known. Most of the people seem almost unconscious of it. The pressure is shown in their just accepting the situation. There is no question raised.
>
> The faculty simply doesn't go to low places. If the student goes, he is afraid to be seen by a classmate. We therefore allow undergraduates to run their own affairs. The

faculty relation to undergraduates is advisory. This is traditional with both faculty and student.

A Junior in the same university added:

> The biggest issue now on this campus is the doing away with the old traditions. This year, for example, the fellows were amazed to see a woman dean take part in an official ceremony. This is the first time such a thing has happened. Recently, too, the women are being allowed to take courses. Now comes the erection of a new building on the inside of the old campus, which the fellows haven't been told anything about. Traditions mean a tremendous lot here.

An interesting contrast is presented in the next two excerpts, the first by a professor of history in a small coeducational college; the second by a dean of women in an endowed coeducational university:

> This community was formerly settled by a New England strain. Most of our students are from this stock. There are great possibilities, therefore, in our student body. The Puritan standards of conduct still largely prevail in this region.
>
> Among the potent traditions cherished here is independence of thought, handed down from early leaders. The first president left a conservative eastern college, in order that he might find one where he could think freely, and he has stamped the institution with the tendency to accept nothing that is old merely because it is old, nor to reject it for that reason, but to weigh and sift everything, preserving the best of the old, and moving on freely to new courses of action, new planes of thought. Hence it often happens that —— is sometimes unjustly condemned as "godless."

An upperclassman thus described the traditional ideals of an endowed coeducational college and the controlling influence of public opinion:

> It is known as a school of ideals. That is why most of the students come. It is prized by parents because of the things it stands for. Again, it is of a size that allows close contact with professors. It is a school of liberal arts; that is, it stresses ideals, while professional schools bear on vocational development. This school refuses to stress the vocational. Again, a splendid atmosphere is created by the chapel and vespers. Twenty minutes a day to sit quiet and think is a great influence. The democratic atmosphere and self-government system are a great factor. Money, dad, or senator amounts to nothing here. Everybody stands on his own feet. This places ideals before one continually. The very nature

of this college gives a man a chance to live his very best. There is no pressure from above. A man makes his own life under the public opinion of his group. The faculty really does very little in the matter of this public opinion. The students make their standards and decide irrespective of the faculty opinions. The student publications say what they choose. The college spirit here gets into your system without your knowing it. You do not feel it much the first year, but you do the second, third, and fourth. The traditions of the institution are in the very air. For example, they show high scholarship. The institution has sent more Rhodes Scholars than any other in the state.

A faculty member enumerated the four traditions at a small coeducational college as follows:

(1) Simplicity of life and comradeship.

(2) No reproach for any sort of honest labor. A student may tend furnaces or wash dishes and still be a leader.

(3) Lack of hostility toward the faculty. No ugly nicknames fastened on the faculty members.

(4) A genuine spirit of hard work, especially in such departments as chemistry and engineering.

The ideals in two large colleges for women were reflected in the following observations by the president of one college and a faculty member of the other:

It differs from sister institutions in that its faculty is as much concerned with character development as with scholarly attainments; character attainment is a part of education and it is desired that students should so feel it, and should feel that the faculty so regards it. The founder was a scholar, and bred the college to luxury in regard to books. His library was that of a scholar rather than a man of business, and he left behind him many traditions that are rich and precious. After he had passed on, his wife who was very broad in her attitude, adjured the trustees to take measures that left room for future development and changes never dreamed of in the beginning, and welcomed them as a part of the growth and development of the college.

Under the first president the ideal of the college was an "intelligent gentlewoman," with the emphasis on the intelligent, it being rather more taken for granted that those who come to college were well-bred. "Add to your virtues knowledge" expressed the ideal very well. The theory of a basis of virtue and religion with a fine finish put on it dominated for a long time. It is perhaps true now that the intellectual and spiritual have suffered somewhat. There was a definite

effort at first, the effect of which is yet seen, to make neither the religion nor the scholarship of the college a conscious thing. It was once said that —— "had no religion to brag of" and that was exactly as the first president desired—the religion not to be "bragged of," just as he wished the education should not be "worn on the shoulder as a chip to be hurled at one." This was good in a time when scholarship and religion in women's colleges had both been so emphasized that they were too much thought of, but the tradition persists after the need for it has gone.

In a small college for women the inquirers found the self-sacrificing spirit of the founders persisting as a strong tradition, thus characterized by a professor:

> The traditions and backgrounds of the college are good. It was founded early in the history of the community for the higher education of women, and was financed by men who so believed in its worth that they mortgaged their own houses to get it started, so that it stands for personal sacrifice. These traditions are built rather directly into the life of the students and the president has made an effort to preserve everything from the past that is fine.

Other traditions and customs that the inquirers cannot regard as so fortunate are also handed down from one generation of students to another, as indicated in these observations by a senior in a small college for men:

> It is an old annual tradition for the upper classmen to line up the freshmen and run them through the gauntlet, hitting them on the head with *Saturday Evening Posts* rolled up. Last year in a "freshmen up" two were knocked blind and one had a leg hurt which afterward had to be amputated.
>
> The President tried to change this freshman tradition. He said the buttock was the place to be spanked—not the head. He abolished the custom for a semester, but the Student Council met two weeks ago and decided to restore the old tradition.
>
> Before final examination week in the spring, when the freshmen throw their caps in the well, they have to run the gauntlet again. It is hell to get to the well.
>
> Students here call themselves "cave-men" and men in co-ed schools "tea-hounds." We try to make the freshmen feel as low as possible in order to learn their place. If they go through with the treatment pluckily, they are the right sort.
>
> The freshmen are disciplined by a vigilance committee of the seniors. It is the business of this committee to go uptown evenings and see that all freshmen wear their caps. If they

don't their hair is cut. Last year, the students declared a holiday after one of the ball games. Twelve of the students attended classes anyway. The rest of the students caught them, took them to a water trough and gave them a ducking.

A junior in another college for men spoke of a long-standing custom:

> I think the accident where the boy's skull was crushed was associated with a statue weighing some two hundred pounds, which is supposed to be in the secret custody of one of the classes, and the other two classes are supposed to try to capture it. It is kept hidden within a hundred miles. Twice a year it is moved and there is a struggle to recover it.

But more than the physical setting, more than the historic traditions, the social atmosphere presses upon the entering student. Instances of the distinctive atmosphere—desirable or otherwise—of various colleges are supplied in the following brief quotations:

> Boys dress alike and look alike. They are compelled to do so by the general atmosphere. This usually brings up the level and does not hurt anyone.

> The trouble here is that too little stress is laid on scholarship. You might as well be at a summer resort. Nobody takes his studies seriously.

> Life here is very artificial, out of touch with reality. We have four years of dreaming. We just live to be happy.

> We are not self-satisfied, but we are very content and the contentment is evident. The "troubled waters" of thought at —— are preferable to the "duck pond" smoothness here.

> The standards of men of any prominence are very high. There is "boozing" only at intervals; extremely little running with women. There is a strong sentiment against these irregularities.

> The best thing in undergraduate morale is that public opinion favors positive work: whatever a man gets hold of that absorbs his personality. It may be the life of Christ, or athletics, or his studies, or the college spirit. Men go to the dogs for the lack of any controlling purpose.

> The greatest factor in shaping character is the deep spirit of dignity that prevails here. Students at other colleges rush the movie house, build bonfires, and so forth. But here folks just don't care to.

> No marked emphasis is placed on religion and morals as such here, but the teaching and spirit of the college as a whole are marked by the finest constructive attitude.

This section on atmosphere and traditions within the college may fitly be rounded out with four testimonies which the authors regard as fairly representative of the atmosphere in four types of institutions.

A professor in a college for men, who ought to understand student attitudes, spoke of the repressive influence of public opinion:

> The students are standardized and are much afraid of being called "wets" or "weirs." A "wet" is one who is almost a grind, always studying, does not mix, gets good marks. A "weir" is one who is strange, queer, a genius—though perhaps a good mixer. Neither a "wet" nor a "weir" dares to show the real stuff that is in him. A fellow that loves literature, beauty for its own sake, is very liable to be made fun of, so keeps quiet; says, "They don't understand me and I don't like to be ridiculed." There is some change in this now. The president, in two addresses, urged individuality, and students are now giving one another more freedom. There is dynamic interest in an educational policy, but extra-curricular activities here override everything.

An instructor in a large coeducational university told of the development of esprit de corps:

> Class spirit is developing a much finer situation and is rather unique. Until the new president came, the authorities did not care about student activities. Consequently, fraternity activities became stronger than university activities. Fraternities gave the students more. To the independents the class meant more. The class has grown to be a more powerful influence. A man may not like some of the folks in his class but he will go to class reunions and "holler" his head off. Somehow the very atmosphere does something to folks and challenges them. It develops loyalty.

An officer in a small coeducational college spoke of the influence of good traditions and a high grade of students:

> Much of the good spirit of the college is due to the type of students who come. There is a small flapper group, but we do not go in for that. There is an intellectual group, also, and the tendency is in that direction, but at present we have the happy medium type. We are just one big family. The college started with an equal number of boys and girls, and the boys realize that they have no more privileges than the girls. We have few social rulings. We run on public opinion. A spirit of this sort cannot be planted. It has to be grown from the beginning.

A faculty member of the Board of Admissions in a small college for women saw ground for hope in the religious and intellectual attitudes of the students:

> The students who come are generally enthusiastic about education, and while there is less professed religion than formerly, it is expressed in different terms. There is no "piosity." The girls are very genuine. We are experiencing a necessary transition in the change from traditional religion to a new freedom; and while this opens up dangers, there are tremendous possibilities for a more vital religion to come out of it. Student leaders are doing real thinking, and we may be optimistic over the future.

STUDENT ECONOMICS

As a result of their interviews and observations in the various colleges the inquirers gained a very definite impression that moderate or even meager incomes, and the necessity to earn part of one's way through college, are a good deal better for most students than a surplus of cash. The contrast between luxury and economy was brought out in such comments as the following, which refer for the most part to conditions at endowed institutions in the eastern states, though similar conditions were found to some degree in nearly all the institutions studied:

> Two hundred or three hundred students have a splendid, almost gay time. The rest do not.

> There is now a smaller per cent. of middle-class students. They are apt to be either rich or poor, few are in between.

> The life in the elegant halls and clubhouses does not prepare men for a living in a back room when they go out and earn $25 a week. Of course, most of the students have money in addition to what they may earn. The life here doesn't lead a man to think about the other fellow. It tends to irresponsibility. The university does so much for the men that it perpetuates the indifference to others' needs that the fellows bring from their homes and prep schools.

The dangers of easy money, for the wealthy students themselves and for the student body as a whole, were more fully brought out in the following testimonies by both professors and students.

A professor in a university for men, declaring that "few students can stand too much money," continued:

> We feel very keenly the materialistic trend here. We would all be better off by living more simply. Our boys have good instincts and are capable of living useful lives, but when surrounded by wealth they succumb. The alumni lose their ideals in the pursuit of wealth, and this is reflected in the student body.

A professor in another university for men contrasted eastern and western students:

> We have quite a number of wealthy fellows here who squander their money, more of them than at a western university where I taught. We also have a good many who do not have a serious attitude toward life, sent here by their families because it is socially advantageous, yet we have as gentlemanly a lot of men as I have ever known.

A sophomore athlete in a university for men deplored the softness of the majority:

> The chief value of athletics is in correcting the softness and self-indulgence expressed in week-end parties, "petting," autos, and country clubs. The majority of men are soft morally and physically. Anything that will tighten up these pampered ducks in our rich colleges ought to be encouraged. Here we are losing the red-blooded element. There aren't enough poor boys—probably less than one-seventh.

A self-supporting man in a large coeducational university had this to say of the social problems created by wealth:

> The sororities and fraternities make a very marked dividing line in the social life. There are many very wealthy students, and it makes life very hard on the girl who does not have money. The boys are more independent, though the girls of many sororities will not speak to a boy who works his way through. Boys have told me the hardest thing they had to meet here is the ease with which girls will talk to them on meeting them at some dance, and then cut them when they find them working in a store or behind a soda fountain. Autos are a great problem, take too much time, and are distracting and extravagant. It costs many students from $2,000 to $3,000 a year here.

A senior, prominent in activities in a university for men, pointed out specific dangers to which wealthy students are exposed:

> The men here have too much money to spend. While I don't have much myself, and have felt the lack of it seriously, I think there is too much freedom in getting away on week-ends, and in social life in the big cities. This is especially

> true of freshmen and sophomores. The juniors and seniors are more apt to stay here over the week-ends. When men go to town they go to a big hotel. They roam around for supper and theater and maybe find some questionable girls. During the last two years of the course men are much better in this respect, but there are still complaints.

The restraining influence of a strong tradition was brought out in the characterization of a small coeducational student body by an undergraduate who had a rather wide acquaintance in other colleges than his own:

> There are a lot of girls in this college that come from wealthy homes but they dress simply and make less display than the girls in [a prominent women's college]. The boys, too, are rather quiet in their tastes. I guess one of the chief reasons is the persistent influence of Quaker ideals, although neither faculty nor student body are predominantly Quakers.

The leveling power of a democratic ideal was illustrated by this remark of a senior at a university for men where there were many students from wealthy families:

> There is no doubt of the risks a rich man's son runs. I've seen several of them go to pieces here. But some of the wealthiest fellows are the least showy and the most democratic. It depends on a man's upbringing and principles. Besides, the spirit of the campus is against an aristocracy of money. Men that are poor and have to work their way are handicapped, but they are respected unless they are queer. Some of the well-to-do professors are the most approachable and unpretentious.

No institution likes to be called a "rich man's college." All prefer to believe that their student bodies represent a cross section of the general economic status, and certainly at most of the institutions visited the inquirers observed no tendency to look down on those who were working their way.

The prevailing attitude, as the inquirers found it, is reflected in these testimonies from two institutions of high rank:

> Working one's way is no handicap to a student socially. For example, two years ago when 80 per cent. of the sophomore class were elected to the clubs, 86 per cent. of those elected were working their way.

> No distinction is made between those who work their way and those who do not, unless it be that the former are rather

more respected. They are frequently among the best liked students.

The strong qualities that are developed by the discipline of self-support evoked such tributes as the following:

> Those who earn their way through college are a fine lot. Their time is well occupied and they don't get mixed up in the extreme social life of the college.
>
> Many of the leaders among the girls are working their way in part or in whole.
>
> It is significant that working students almost invariably do the best college work.
>
> Many false standards are lost by those who have to work. They keep closer to actual life, instead of living in a fictitious, academic world. They learn to overcome obstacles; to take hard knocks, to develop resourcefulness.
>
> About one-fourth of the women at this large university assist themselves and among them are college leaders.

Even though the authors believe that students working their way are generally respected and treated without discrimination, it is obvious that they cannot always avoid certain embarrassments and handicaps. The really poor student is reminded of his limitations by the quality of his room and food and clothes, and by being bound to long hours at dish-washing, window-cleaning, typewriting, or furnace-tending. The inquirers found that costly clothes and a car are at times the passport to membership in a sorority or a fraternity, in which case the student of cramped income is compelled to lose some of the most delightful experiences of undergraduate life, and is made aware that some of his well-to-do fellows treat him with perhaps unintentional condescension. The rare extreme to which the ostracism of a working student may go was illustrated in one coeducational institution where a self-supporting man said that "the girls of many sororities will not speak to a boy who works his way through."

The values of partial self-support were brought out in the following remarks of an administrative officer at a large university:

> Sixty per cent. of the men are earning some part of their way through. Thirty per cent. of them pass through this office. We find no danger in the forms of employment among working students, but there is some in the amount of work they take on. Among the benefits of working one's way through are: the actual reward, the development of a sense of

responsibility, the appreciation of the value of money and the need of careful expenditure, the actual skill required.

An official of the Civil Service Commission found student workers satisfactory:

> The type of student who applies for work through the Civil Service Commission is very fine; eager, industrious, ambitious, and determined; clean morally, and usually makes good. A girl student in my office on half time is worth more than any full-time girl I have. She is taking half-time work at college and is a Phi Beta Kappa.

A woman administrative officer in a large coeducational university described some of the processes of self-support:

> Three hundred girls here are partially self-supporting. They do clerical work in departments and help in faculty homes. The week before school begins is a very busy time for us in getting students placed. Many of them come, hoping to live in a home for their board, and therefore have to be placed immediately. Students come and say that they are come to their last dollar and must find a place to stay. Some of the girls have entirely too much courage about coming to college without any money. As far as possible they are assisted by loan funds. For board and room a girl is expected to give twenty-six hours of service weekly. An attempt is made to get them into understanding homes. The difficulty is that students have only fragmentary time and yet have to earn money somehow.

A warden in a medium-sized college for women reported:

> There are two coöperative houses, and approximately fifty girls who are partly working their way through school. In one of the coöperative houses, where the girls do the cooking, expenses are reduced to $150 per year for room and board; in the one where the cooking is hired, it costs $300. Both are scholarship houses, and keep up a very high standard. One of these houses is the aristocrat on the campus, both for scholarship and personality.

Ingenuity in self-support and the questions that may arise in connection with it appear in the case of a university student:

> Any phase of undergraduate activities is a good thing. It gives you self-confidence. I was an editor of the student paper and found it a very good training, also the college comic. It doesn't need to be dirty to be funny. I have been writing short stories on the quiet for *True Confessions* and *True Stories*. I made a thousand dollars in eleven weeks

> selling my stuff to magazines. One year I tried the Vacation Bible School Job, and only made a little clear. I write stories and make $25 apiece, get a good plot and an ending with a punch,—many stories like those in *The Plastic Age*. I do not know whether I ought to write for such magazines or not. They claim their stories are true, but of course they aren't. At any rate none of mine are. I am trying to get on to a better way to make money. Am thinking of selling Fuller brushes. These questions are all up to the man himself. Early environment has much to do with it.

The authors have been led to the conclusion that many of the students who are compelled to earn most of their expenses are thereby diverted too largely from academic work or miss too much of the voluntary activities and social life.

ROOMS AND BOARD

Rooming accommodations are of three main types: dormitories, fraternity and sorority houses, rooming-houses. Meals are provided in connection with each of these types of residence but also in separate boarding-houses and dining-halls, many of the latter being run by the institutions themselves.

College dormitories are the housing ideal of most institutions. Architecturally the dormitories vary greatly, but as a rule they are substantial and healthful, if not beautiful. At the colleges for women the inquirers found them often particularly attractive and well managed.

An inviting picture of life in a women's dormitory at a state university was drawn by a hall mistress:

> My room is so located that I naturally meet all young men callers, like a mother at home. I strive to make the girls feel I am not watching them but watching for them. I enlist the coöperation of the girls. I discussed late telephoning with them and they decided against long chats after ten; so one sometimes hears a girl say, "Make it snappy—the clock is striking ten and we don't use the phone here after that." I see that Sunday breakfast is a bit better than on other days, so girls who get up early for it are more likely to be ready for church.

In a few instances, such as the Harkness Memorial at Yale, and the newer dormitories at Princeton, the buildings are exceedingly beautiful. Of one of these buildings a professor observed:

> The beauty of the new dormitories unquestionably commands respect from all the students. There is no carving of

> initials or scratching of furniture. Inside the building you feel that you are miles outside the city. Students take wonderful care of things and don't throw litter around.

But there are at both men's and women's colleges some old or neglected dormitory halls similar to the one of which an inquirer reported:

> It is necessary to emphasize the lack of equipment with which the girls here are provided. The old dormitory is a firetrap, with narrow halls and unpleasant rooms. Few are attractively decorated. They are decidedly unwholesome to live in.

A professor of home economics, a woman, criticized living conditions in a state university:

> The campus is too highly organized for healthy nervous life. Living conditions are too crowded to allow for quiet and rest. Girls dress too lightly; are not too well fed, get too little milk, and a poorly selected diet.

An assistant dean of women in a large university desired

> more facilities for recreation; better living quarters; room for social affairs which give training in social grace, and the encouragement of all activities that bring a larger recognition of woman's value and of her contribution to modern life.

Under the pressure of rapid increases in student population, the state and metropolitan universities in particular have found it financially impossible to keep pace with the demand for dormitories. They have, therefore, not only allowed but encouraged the fraternity and sorority houses to provide living quarters for a large proportion of the students. At Cornell, for example, 44 per cent. of the men and 18 per cent. of the women actually lived in these houses in the year 1926. In a large state university visited more than one-fifth of the women were found living in the sorority houses. In cases of this kind the inquirers found that rooming accommodations were ordinarily good and that the food, usually provided under the management of a student steward, was what the group desired, or at least was willing to pay for. Students of similar incomes tend to flock together, so that the costs vary with the group.

That the "cottage plan" excels living in sorority houses is the judgment of the head of a university department, a woman with intimate knowledge of living conditions.

> The housing conditions here form a great problem. The cottage plan seems to offer the best solution. The sorority houses do not fully satisfy—the girls do not invite the chaperone to return if she is at all strict; and the laxness and ease which prevail are none too good for the girls. It is a serious question if they are getting nearly as much from college as did girls from the stricter and more directed life of a few years ago.

Since the strength of the influences exerted on the residents in fraternity houses is due more largely to the fraternity itself than to merely living together, further treatment of this aspect of the subject will be left to Chapter II.

Private rooming-houses under more or less close institutional supervision have also been largely depended on to meet the deficiency of college dormitories, but such houses are generally considered less desirable than fraternity houses. Although a few institutions have achieved considerable progress in remedying conditions in the rooming-houses, the inquirers found the problem to be acute in five of the larger state or semi-state universities. At these institutions the insufficiency of college dormitories and the uncertain quality of the rooming-houses were thought to work hardships, particularly on the women students.

An administrative officer at a large coeducational university described conditions in rooming-houses:

> I select and inspect the "league houses," and handle employment for women students. The two college dormitories each take thirty freshmen, making seventy-five or eighty students in each house, and this leaves many fine girls for the outside houses. There are sixty-four "organized houses," having five or more girls in each, 669 girls in all. There are twenty approved houses with fewer than five girls in each and eighty-six in these unorganized houses. Three hundred and ninety-one girls live in sorority houses, 409 live at home or in private homes, and 326 in dormitories. The student house president in each league house enforces the rules of the women's league. In case she fails to do so, it is the responsibility of the landlady to urge her to do it, or in case of her failure, to report it to the Dean of Women. In some cases the landladies coöperate finely, in others their first concern is financial. They are loath to quarrel with their bread and butter and are frequently blind to what goes on.

The head of the housing bureau in a large coeducational university stated her belief that good living conditions have a tremendous effect on the social standards of students:

> Happy surroundings and pleasant conditions inhibit the desire to do indiscreet things. Some women have been led into wrong ways because "no one is ever about when I get homesick; no one knows and no one cares." Householders are supposed to report misconduct to the Dean.

A house-mother at a large coeducational university pictured hardships suffered by some women students:

> Often the landladies of the town are very hard on the girls and cheat them badly. Two girls at a distance rented a room, paying $100 each for the semester; when they came they found the room could be entered only by passing through the family dining-room and the kitchen. It had but one window opening against a brick wall. They were obliged to keep it, and the landlady was so angry when they would not remain for the second semester that she turned them out on the morning of the day before the lease expired, on the grounds that she "must clean the room for the next guest." Boys do not put up with such treatment, but the girls do not know what to do.

Still other sources of friction between landlady and student were described by a woman administrative officer in a coeducational university:

> The housing problem is serious. The present houses are none too sanitary; the rules, which have gradually evolved, need revision; e.g., the one made long ago, that students must be permitted at least two hot baths a week, is now generally interpreted not more than two, and the practice of watching the bathing hours and turning on the heater makes for friction. An effort is made to get fair play for both landlady and student, and sororities are urged to make a fair adjustment for board with the landlady when a girl moves into a sorority, but this is often not done, and the men utterly refuse to do so.

A woman student in another coeducational university painted an equally drab picture:

> In most of the rooming-houses, charges are excessive; $6 per week is supposed to be the maximum, but it often runs to $9, and there is a notable lack of comfort. Almost uniformly the houses are unattractively furnished with the products of second-hand shops. The furniture is poor, halls so dimly

> lighted with ten-watt lamps as to make passage often unsafe. The landlady has a fine davenport which is always in the parlor at rental time and is never seen by the girls later.

A more favorable situation at a state university was described by an administrative officer:

> In my service I have visited all of the boarding-houses and was agreeably surprised to find that 95 per cent. of them were all right as regards size of rooms, number of windows, beds, situation, provision for hot water and light, heat, price, number in rooms, closet, cleanliness, beauty and personality of landladies. Many of the landladies are women of the right type; often they are mothers.

The effect of a high-grade residence hall in raising standards outside was thus stated by the director:

> The establishment of a residence hall has set the standard at the university, and has helped to pull up the requirements of all boarding-houses, which must meet certain high standards, steadily rising, as to water, light, heat, comfort and beauty.

A house-mother in a medium-sized college for women described a high type of rooming-house, and the system of freshman "hostess-houses":

> I am the head of a house in which twenty-five girls live, and eighty girls eat, those from outside "hostess-houses" coming in for their meals and using the house as a social center. The fine drawing-rooms are available for dances, choir practice, etc. There are four such social centers and the head of each is an employee of the college, responsible to the dean. The halls are owned by the college. The "hostess-houses" for freshmen are owned by the person who runs them, but are approved, and are under the government of the college rules. Next year, a senior student, elected to the position for personality and merit, will live in each freshman house, to act as counsellor, to hand on traditions and standards, and create morale.

In summarizing the living conditions at the twenty-three institutions, the inquirers consider that they vary from fair to excellent at the endowed institutions, but that at the state universities, the college dormitories are notably insufficient and the rooming-houses are apt to be particularly unsatisfactory for women. After taking account of all shortcomings, however, it is only fair to add that

the vast majority of the student bodies in the institutions studied are well housed.

The question of diet among students who have to eat at cafeterias, lunch counters, and restaurants, seldom arose in the course of the inquiry. It might repay special study.

COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENT

No American institution of higher learning has complete extraterritoriality within its community. Some of the older eastern universities are somewhat self-contained but even they are permeated by influences from the world around them. In the state institutions the psychological walls have been pierced, and university extension has built highways through the breaches.

The communities surrounding these institutions vary from metropolitan cities to villages whose mainspring is the college. The population figures are given on the chart at the end of this book. It will be noted that four of the twenty-three institutions studied are in cities of over 50,000, seven in cities of between 10,000 and 50,000, and the remaining twelve in small towns, either rural or suburban.

The local community is always important to the lives of students. Many of them live in its homes, work in its business enterprises, mingle in its social life, patronize its amusements, and attend its churches, and all are under the jurisdiction of its government. It gives not a few of them their first mature impression of the workings of the police, the courts and the elections, and of the rights and obligations of citizens.

The town-and-gown relationship is significant for both the community and the college. The attitudes vary from hospitality to exploitation on the part of the community, and from respect to scorn on the part of the student. The ideal relationship is obviously one of mutual pride and coöperation. Specimen comments, gathered in the course of the inquiry, that indicate good relationships are first presented:

> The town is considerate of the welfare of the students. For example, the Chamber of Commerce is very careful of the business and manufacturing organizations that apply. They try to admit only those that will have a good moral influence on the University. The town is restricted and especially clean.

> The general decency of this community is very pronounced. You have to hunt for devilment if you want it. It is never flaunted in one's face. The college really makes the town.

> You have to get away from here to get anything rotten.

These favorable conditions have not come by chance, but have been the result of leadership and coöperation on the part of both the community and the institution.

In the economic relationship, the inquirers found that fair prices by merchants and landlords and the opening of opportunities for self-support foster good feeling. On the social side, they were impressed by the fact that the opening of homes in informal hospitality frequently exerts a steadying and refining influence over students away from home. On the other hand, college towns were found where the churches are strong but where the municipal administration is corrupt or inefficient, and good citizens are unorganized or are inexcusably ignorant of the establishments that are preying on the students. Of one such small city a prominent banker declared that

> The dance halls, the movies and the ice-cream parlors are hotbeds of evil.

Of another town a professor remarked:

> Much of the difficulty among our students comes from the constant lowering of standards through movies and the lack of good drama and music.

An administrative officer described his difficulties with "road shows":

> We have a very difficult time with questionable women. Most of the plays at the theatres are musical comedies, with many women. I get echoes of students going out with them. Of course, if the facts come to us we discipline the men involved. But these are often difficult to get.

The institution itself can, and frequently does, undercut demoralizing local amusements by providing lectures, dramatic entertainments and concerts.

A leading banker in a college community stated that the Women's Club has tried to prevent the exhibition of any indecent play or film, but the instant their vigilance is relaxed, an unclean show is sure to come.

The inquirers were convinced that local conditions as to liquor and bootlegging have an intimate bearing on student morals, as

will appear more than once in Chapter V. The results of lax enforcement of the law were thus detailed by a faculty member in a university for men:

> Following the war we had great difficulty in discipline. There was much drinking, more running around with women. The Civic League (women) in the city tried to clean up by running out the bad women. Conditions are getting very much better, especially as to drinking. One used to hear groups of students in loud rowdying. There is hardly a sound of it now. My house is located in the midst of a student quarter, so that I have opportunity to know. There are numerous places in the city where liquor can be obtained freely. At certain intervals during the year the lid is off, but it is not constant as formerly. The alumni injure us badly at game times and at commencement by bringing in liquor and carrying on general rowdyism. However, drinking excesses have grown. We are located near the shore, which has many isolated inlets where any amount of liquor can be smuggled. The supply of liquor which is sold very freely here is responsible for a great deal of sexual immorality. I was in my club one night when a bootlegger tried to sell me liquor. I followed him out, and when I threatened to have him arrested he said, "Well, you better buy this quart of whiskey. I have seven faculty members who are regular customers of mine, and I have good liquor." He started to tell me their names, but I stopped him. The situation here is bad on account of the Italians who do the peddling, and the city government, which is corrupt. An Italian came to look at an automobile of a very expensive sort in a salesroom where a friend of mine was employed. He looked at a $7,800 car. My friend said, "You couldn't buy that, could you?" and the man took him into a private room and showed him $28,000, which he actually had on his person as a result of cashing in on liquor sales. All this sort of thing could be stopped here if the city government were on its job.

The inquirers were also told that the local government sometimes contributes to the difficulties of a situation by winking at student misconduct:

> The police seemingly will not arrest college boys whatever they do, and the faculty so far has taken very little notice of student disorders in the town.

The relations between the local churches and the students depend largely on the personality of the pastor and the hospitality of the members. A lack of cordiality and a strait-laced presentation of religion repel students. The inquirers believe the introduc-

tion of special university pastors, serving in connection with local churches at state university centers, to be a noteworthy advance, while the community service activities of several student Christian associations also foster coöperation and understanding between town and gown.[8]

In concluding this section, the authors think highly of the work being done by alert professors who find in the larger local communities a laboratory for investigation and for instruction in government, industry, social work and art. Productive research and intelligent social service by not a few of the institutions are winning for them the interest and the confidence of their communities.

THE WIDER ENVIRONMENT

The standards prevailing in society at large are immediately reflected in the attitudes and conduct of students. How much this fact increases the difficulties of the administrator was brought out in the following observations by the president of a college for women:

> The college feels the influence of social life in general today—there is a certain hectic and restless tide that makes young people and their life harder to guide than it was ten or fifteen years ago. They are more pleasure-loving and have less realization that a good time is a means to an end and not and end in itself. On the other hand, we are likely to have a rather small group of this sort as compared with the whole. Some of our students have too little social life, others a very normal amount; some come with excellent standards, others with low ones—the college represents every variety and type, but most come from good homes. Far more than in standards do we find a great change in attitudes—the one of most concern is the extreme individualism of today, which shows itself in many ways and which is hard to guide wisely. We cannot oppose it. The real problem is so to coöperate with sympathy and insight as to make this individualism a source of strength rather than a divisive factor. It makes college government more of a problem, as students wish to settle such matters as going to chapel and church, rules and regulations, chaperones, motoring, etc., on the individual basis. On the other hand, it means much in poise, freedom, initiative and independence.

The registrar in another college for women confirmed this view:

> In general our students have a background of culture, but their standards seem looser than they used to be. The girls

[8] For fuller treatment of this subject see Chapter VIII.

taken singly are sane, and never more interested in religion and morals than now. But they chafe at restraint, and seem worse than they are. It is hard to make them see that freedom ought not to mean running wild. Our policy is to give them freedom, along with responsibility.

The outside world also impinges powerfully on most students through the large near-by cities which they visit during week-ends.[4] The inquirers came definitely to the opinion that the accessibility of an institution to a large city is a moral liability, and that opinion was confirmed by most of the interviews in which this subject was brought up. One of the exceptions cited was a university in a large city regarding which these opinions were expressed:

> One of the advantages of this university is the accessibility of a great city and city influences, with museums, theatres, and other attractions. Because of that there may be less rah-rah spirit, but there is more real reverence and loyalty for the university.
>
> The museums, theatres, and other attractions broaden one's interest.

The weight of the opinions expressed at all other colleges was decidedly unfavorable to the large city's influence, as appears in varying degrees in the following statements from persons in as many institutions:

> The big city is a detriment to college life. It offers too many distractions.
>
> Some of the moral defects here are in living conditions about the university, such as are present in any great city.
>
> A good many men go down to —— and —— for a big time. Three men were let out for this not long ago.
>
> There are one or two girls of loose character in town who are well known. Most of the boys don't care anything about them. They fly higher in —— and ——.

The dean of a large university said:

> I suspended a man for intoxication at the big game. Boys go to —— and raise "Ned." This is made a matter of discipline if we get the facts. We say, "We are in the place of your parents. Your moral attitude wherever you are is what we are interested in."

A member of the staff of a university department of health in a small city thus described his difficulties:

[4] This subject is discussed again in Chapter V.

> As a place for a university this town is very wholesome. While there is considerable bootlegging here, as at other places, the town is exceptionally clean sexually. Our worst trouble is in the boys going to ——, only a short distance away, where there is unquestionably considerable sex illegality. Nearly all sexual disease comes here from there. We have not been able to get the authorities there to clean up, though we are now trying to reach them through the Rotary Club. Then we have a large number of students from —— [another city]. These give us the trouble incident to a large city.

On the other hand, a professor in a university in a large city, while agreeing with the foregoing, maintained that the multiplication of temptations has its advantages:

> The effect of the city environment is bad, and will be bad wherever it is present. Good men are not overwhelmed by it. There are more opportunities in a situation like this for a man to go wrong and more do so, but they cannot be wholly condemned as the temptations here are very great. For some the issue is sharpened and they are made more moral just because of the temptations presented. There is no question but that the city does increase these temptations. A more protected environment postpones the sharpening of the moral issue between good and bad.

Women's colleges as well as men's are affected by questionable influences in the large cities, although differently and to a lesser degree. A student in a college for women said:

> One of our problems is that of chaperonage in the city. You say "good-bye" to your chaperone and then when you come in you wake her and say "hello" to her. That may be four o'clock in the morning. Just enough of this sort of thing happens all the time to keep the alumnæ reporting to the college. Girls had been allowed to stay at special houses until it was found that the owners took none of the responsibility. As yet no satisfactory solution has been found. In general, conditions are all right. There is no "petting" in canoes and "spoonholders," although girls often go with men who drink in the city.

A type of *sub-rosa* jazz trip, in which both the automobile and the pull of the large city figure, is occasionally arranged in combination between students from men's and women's colleges. An instance of this kind was reported by an exceptionally credible witness, the wife of a professor:

> Two men went on Friday night to a dance at —— [a woman's college]. After dancing all night they started, with their partners, early in the morning, and motored nearly all day to New York. There they attended a tea dance at a big hotel in the late afternoon, went to another dance Saturday night, motored to another large city on Sunday afternoon, where I took the girls in, put them to bed and gave them a very early breakfast on Monday morning, so that the party might return to their colleges in time for compulsory chapel Monday morning.

The complexity of this undergraduate world that has been sketched in rough outline, and the delicacy of the adjustments to be made in it, will appear in the chapters that follow, beginning with the manifold voluntary groupings that bid for the freshman's allegiance.

Chapter II

STUDENT GROUPINGS

No undergraduate is entirely isolated from his fellows, for there are at the least such bonds as membership in a department and class, and in the fellowship of a student crowd at an athletic event. But American undergraduates have a passion for organizations of their own making. They have created every conceivable kind of club, association, fraternity and society. Almost every type of extra-curricular activity implies membership in one or more groups.

The deeper meaning of this complex picture is intensely significant. Here are young people, presumably of better than average ability, facing new experiences together, at a time in life when group feeling and imitation are dominant factors. They are thrown together in work and play; they eat, sleep, study, loaf, and engage in voluntary activities in more or less constant association. The total process of their education may be shaped by these influences far more than by the curriculum itself. Social psychologists are agreed that group relations profoundly affect morale. Hence the groups that demand the loyalty of students may go far to determine their characters.

The sharpest differences of opinion exist as to the value of fraternities and other types of groups, and as to the comparative merits of different groups of the same type. How prominent a place these questions occupy in the thoughts of undergraduates themselves came out again and again in the interviews the inquirers held with students.

Concerning the simplest and most natural grouping, the spontaneous companionship of intimate friends, it will be sufficient to quote the testimony given by a recent graduate of a small coeducational college, which well epitomizes this type of grouping:

> What I prize most about my college course as I look back on it are my personal friendships. I belonged to a good many organizations, social, political, intellectual, and religious, but no one of these ever corralled all the men whom I cared most

about. I would have had to create a fraternity of my own to do so. In a sense that is just what I did.

The authors believe that the majority of the student bodies visited offer conditions in which such spontaneous groups of friends may be freely formed.

Other major types of groupings found in the colleges may be classified as follows: residential groups; interest groups; purpose groups; racial groups; exclusive social groups, such as fraternities and sororities. These will be discussed in the order named.

RESIDENTIAL GROUPS

The place of residence furnishes the basis of one of the earliest groups in which freshmen find themselves, whether it be a dormitory or a rooming-house.[1]

The twenty-three colleges and universities visited have generally recognized their responsibility for the living conditions of their students. Even those accepting the least responsibility have one or more dormitories and exercise a certain amount of inspection of rooming-houses. Others provide dormitory and dining provision for all their students. It is largely a matter of accident in which groups a new student finds himself. Accordingly, such groups are generally loosely formed and changeable. Some dormitories and rooming-houses are entirely without a general group spirit. In a few, where other loyalties are not allowed to interfere, a genuine fellowship is achieved. This, according to the observation of the inquirers, happens most frequently where there is either a small nucleus of students who foster it, or where an older person of attractive personality, almost always a woman, unifies the group. These older persons are frequently faculty hostesses in charge of dormitories, or proprietors of rooming-houses, women of exceptional human quality and genuine interest in the residents. Under stimulating guidance of this sort instances of the finest group morale were found in dormitories for women. Under similar circumstances there were also found a few groups of men that responded to the leadership of an attractive older woman. The inquirers found that an older man in a similar capacity was usually a misfit.

[1] See also Chapter I.

MEN'S DORMITORY GROUPS

From the small number of opinions expressed in the interviews regarding the influence of men's dormitories upon group life, the authors quote the following extracts as indicating both the drawbacks and the advantages of the system.

A professor in an eastern university for men pointed out how dormitory life widens the student's acquaintance:

> I came here from another state and have been much impressed by the dormitory system in relation to the societies. It has great influence on a boy's acquaintance. He gets to know pretty much everybody. A boy here knows more men in a month, from different parts of the country, than he would in a year in my home state university.

A senior in a small coeducational college found dormitory life more democratic than fraternity life.

> I prefer dormitory life to fraternity life. One knows more fellows and lives more upon a democratic plane. We have exceptionally fine living conditions here. However, there is disorder and ill-mannerliness in the dining-room. This could and should be changed.

Another senior in the same college contrasted the general upward trend of the college with the downward pull of the dormitories:

> The general atmosphere of this college is upward. There are some very fine boys with good training. But there is an unjustifiable laxity in the conduct of the dormitories and the dining-room. It is a disappointment to me. There is very little coöperation here, however. One boy was dismissed for drinking and the speed with which he was dismissed showed the temper of the campus. The dormitory system often weakens a lad. It is so free that some boys go down hill easily. If he was held down at home he can come here and swear and gamble freely.

WOMEN'S DORMITORY GROUPS

In contrast with the relatively small amount of interest expressed in men's dormitory life in the interviews, was the rather copious expression of opinion regarding women's dormitory groups. As the discussion in Chapter I showed, the inquirers consider that the dormitories at the colleges for women rank high. The difficulty at the large coeducational institutions, particularly the state universities, seemed to be not so much the quality of such

dormitories as there were, as the insufficiency of their numbers. The excerpts that follow have been selected to illustrate so far as possible both the favorable and the less favorable conditions that the inquirers found.

The decidedly helpful influence of artistic surroundings and of cultured supervision were exemplified at a coeducational university:

> Living in this beautiful hall, with its stately corridors, without a single cheap article of furniture or a bit of bric-a-brac, is a great moral influence in itself. In addition, the head of the hall is a fine musician, and generous in sharing her gift with her girls. In daily routine —— is careful to observe all the niceties of social behavior and the very atmosphere of the dining-room, with its fine lines and noble proportions, tends to lower voices and refine manners. The hostess says that more halls like this one may not be desirable, but that she is sure one year's residence there for every girl is a great constructive force. For the other years, smaller and more intimate groups might have a superior value. She believes that the educative value of the statuary, the pictures, and the quiet elegance is great and will cultivate tastes so that rougher groups or their equivalent will in the future be less evident in the smaller and simpler homes than they have been.

A woman student in a large coeducational university said of the house-mother of the women's residence hall:

> She does much for the girls; talks to them about "personal honor," trying to raise their standards. She is very cultured. Most of the girls like her.

Similarly a dormitory hostess at a state university created homelike features which were thus described:

> She has established certain customs at the hall which give it a more homelike atmosphere. For example, once a month they have a birthday dinner to celebrate the anniversaries of the students born in that month. The cook bakes a special cake and the girls serenade their birthday guests. Also they have corridor spreads; each corridor puts on a stunt and finally the large group assembles downstairs for popcorn and candy. A Sunday chapel service is held with music and an outside speaker.

On the other hand, a hostess may be too easy-going as was the case at a university in a large city:

> The head of this dormitory was an old lady, easy and sympathetic. For this reason it was considered wise to live in

> that hall. Besides it has the best-looking downstairs. There has been considerable cheating in the matter of signing in. At night you are supposed to be in at 12:30. Many of the girls fake the time they come in. If you have been getting lots of "keys" and do not feel that you can ask for another without being reprimanded it is easy enough to have a friend get it for you.

A senior woman in a state university pointed out how good traditions in a dormitory may easily lapse:

> The house-mother is not well poised, and yields to petty prejudices. Her predecessor, whom all the girls liked, left many traditions which the present house-mother has swept away, apparently from jealousy of her predecessor's success. The dormitory has lost its prestige.

An excess of other work impaired the helpfulness of the house-mother at another state university.

> There is no hall spirit in the women's hall; no loyalty as a unit. The house-mother teaches in the university; therefore can't give much time to her hall. She usually criticizes trivial things, like the way students walk upstairs after dinner. The students resent this.

Confidence in students was said to have brought good results in a large coeducational university.

> Dormitory life is very free. All doors are locked at 10:15, but there is no set time at which girls spending the evening out must return, if they have a key. It is not necessary to tell the house-mother where they are going, though this is often done as a matter of courtesy. The head of the house may refuse a key if the scholarship of the student is low enough to justify this. Regulations of the house are in the hands of the head who may make any temporary restrictions that she deems best, though it is the policy of the university to allow all possible freedom. This develops a sense of self-responsibility, and removes all temptation to break rules just because they are there to break.

ROOMING-HOUSE GROUPS

The testimony received in the interviews as well as their own experience convince the inquirers that social contacts in rooming-houses are apt to be so casual, temporary and, except for certain houses for women students, so slightly supervised, as to be unfavorable to congenial friendships and group life. As in the case of the dormitory groups, the problem as it affected men

students was little discussed in the interviews, and all the quotations that follow deal with rooming-houses for girls. The first two excerpts are from state universities.

> Naturally the group in the boarding-houses is an accidental one and a girl may be most unhappy in it.
>
> Many of the girls in the league houses at this university are bitter because they are not in sororities. There is no house loyalty and the rules are not kept. Some girls have private keys to their houses.

A dean of women in a coeducational university described her depressing experience as a student in a rooming-house for women students:

> I lived in a league house during my freshman year. It was an untidy place. There were twelve girls in this house, three Jewish girls, several uninteresting upper-classmen, and one wild woman. The girls were "small-townish"; they did nothing on the campus. From this group I fled as soon as I could.

The head of the women's housing bureau described the problems connected with rooming-houses in a large coeducational university.

> A great problem is to find places which are large enough to house groups of from ten to fifteen women. There is quite a demand for such places. Men and women are not allowed to room in the same house.
>
> Whenever possible, rooms are assigned in houses where the householder feels some sense of responsibility for the inmates, as where there is absolutely no checking students sometimes stay out very late. There is of course much opportunity for wrong-doing if one wishes to take it. On the whole the system works out very well. The great drawback is that such rooms have too little contact with the college life.

Rooming-house groups in a small coeducational university were thus described:

> The houses off campus are more of a problem than the dormitories. It is quite difficult to keep quiet hours. But when any trouble arises, the hostess gets the girls together and talks it over as a big family. Probably because of distance such groups do not enter into campus activities. They like it where they live because it is more homelike with fifteen girls than in the big dormitory.

Successful coöperative houses, composed of girls who share the housekeeping, were found in several coeducational universities and

women's colleges. This one was in a large college for women:

> The coöperative house is successful. A girl saves $150 a year by doing all her work except cleaning the downstairs rooms. It has not kept me from doing anything and doesn't take more than an hour a day. We work in teams of two, one day doing buying and planning, another time getting breakfast and lunch; then doing the breakfast and lunch dishes, getting dinner, doing dinner dishes, and little odds and ends like watering plants, etc. The social rules are well kept by the girls. They know what they have come to college for.

Another such house in a state university was thus described:

> They could not have come to the university had it not been for the coöperative houses. They do not have parties as the sorority houses do, but they have plenty of fun and feel that they get enough out of the social and other activities on the campus.

In dormitories and rooming-houses where little or no group consciousness exists, and where official supervision is lax, it is not unusual for self-centered, unsocial attitudes to develop, particularly if the residents form the "lone-hand habit" of eating in cafeterias or in crowds in "commons." The saving factor frequently is supplied by a good landlady or house-mother. Where the residents are homogeneous and have built up wholesome traditions, a house sometimes radiates influences of the finest sort.

INTEREST GROUPS

As students move on in experience, their individual interests develop and find expression. They seek out fellows of like interests and form an endless number of groups which do any one of a hundred things together. Those that are informal are akin to the spontaneous friendship groups, but those that are organized may be highly standardized, as are the scientific and professional societies. These manifold voluntary groups parallel not only the established curriculum but all the highly standardized voluntary forms of activity—athletic, social, and religious. Alongside the formal competitive athletic system which requires much training and supervision, there spring up innumerable groups that delight in outdoor recreation for its own sake, such as hiking, skating, horseback riding, tennis, scrub baseball, swimming and the like.

Supplementing the standardized fraternity system, numerous

groups flock together because of some common social interest—dancing, reading, playing cards, or merely talking together.

Sometimes within the framework of organized religion, but more often outside of it, the essentially religious issues of life draw students together into "bull sessions" for religious discussion. Social-religious idealism penetrates many other forms of grouping, such as the liberal clubs, and groups formed for the discussion of racial, industrial, and international problems.

Informal interest groups likewise parallel the formal work of the classroom. The department of rhetoric has its counterpart in the "scribblers club" and in the groups of embryo journalists who frequent the offices of the college publications. The courses on sociology find undergraduates complements in a community-service group, or in a radical social club.

The following piece of testimony is probably characteristic of the experience of a good many students:

> One of the most enjoyable features of my last two years has been what we call the Philosophy Club. We have met on Sunday evenings at a professor's home. We form a congenial group and get something out of our discussions which we do not find in our courses.

An educational investigator who has visited a large number of colleges has expressed the opinion that "the establishment of cultural centers such as a French Château, or an Italian House, is one of the best ways yet devised for drawing together teachers and students around a common interest and for changing the study of a foreign language or culture from a 'chore' into an enthusiasm."

The common characteristic of all the groups described above is some vivid personal interest. The groups that remain informal are the most characteristic of this general type. They usually operate quietly and make no effort to gain campus recognition. They are generally marked by a high degree of mobility, being formed and dissolved with equal ease.

The inquirers found that the interest groups that are semi-officially related to scientific and professional departments of instruction tend to become permanent. They usually include a considerable proportion of graduate students and faculty members, and encourage free intercourse between students and faculty. The limited appeal that these intellectual interest groups make to most undergraduates may be due to too close resemblance to the classroom approach, so that freedom is stifled. It may, on the other

hand, mean that students are chiefly interested in non-intellectual activities, which conduce to undergraduate social standing, to exciting pleasure, and to future financial prospects. The insatiable desire of undergraduates to turn group membership to account for campus distinction may cripple a group. Occasionally groups may form about some low-grade pursuit, like the drinking clubs and The Kappa Beta Phi, which organizes congenial men of low academic standing; but the authors believe these cases to be comparatively rare.

PURPOSE GROUPS

Groups of this type are usually organized to affect the life of the institution itself—a Green Key Society to welcome visiting athletes, a religious society to heighten standards of conduct, a senior society to perpetuate certain traditions.

Such groups are either small and limited in membership, or are large and inclusive. The first kind is represented by senior societies, or other groups composed of upper-class leaders: Palæopitus at Dartmouth, Lantern Club at Grinnell, Sachem at Kansas for men and Mortar Board for women. The senior societies at Yale are perhaps the oldest and best known of such groups and are composed of men prominent in activities. Through them traditions are conserved, new movements are initiated, and direction is given to student opinion. Although they sometimes announce definite positions upon public issues, they ordinarily work quietly through personal influence. An announcement published in the college paper reveals the general purpose of such an organization of the finer sort:[2]

> That there may be an intelligent understanding throughout the undergraduate body of the purposes of Palæopitus and furthermore, that Palæopitus may more effectively "bring into close touch and working harmony the various branches of college activities, preserve the customs and traditions of Dartmouth, promote her welfare, and protect her good name" —as required in the society's constitution—the 1924 Palæopitus of Dartmouth College submits to the college the following declaration of policy:
>
> Since it is apparent to the entire college that the drinking of intoxicating liquors cannot help but sully the good name of the college, Palæopitus sets itself down as vigorously opposed to such drinking in Hanover and wherever the name

[2] Another illustration has already been given in Chapter I, pp. 9 and 10.

of Dartmouth is concerned. This does not mean that Palæopitus shall constitute itself a police force to parade Hanover streets in search of violators. It does mean, however, that any persistent violations on the part of any individual or fraternity will bring immediate measures to protect the reputation of the college.

Some of the selective purpose groups, however, simply repeat high-sounding watchwords which have lost reality. Of one such, a student remarked that the society "is not so active this year. It seemingly has no major task."

The authors consider that perhaps the most serious danger in connection with groups of this sort is that they may be mere collections of "activity hounds," who have no deeper purpose than to win the distinction of being elected to membership.

The purpose group of large, inclusive membership is exemplified by student unions, women's leagues, student government and honor systems, international relations clubs, leagues for industrial democracy, Christian associations and class organizations. They generally work publicly and welcome all who share their purposes. They often enlist large memberships in carrying out programs which affect the entire student body and society at large. In the judgment of the inquirers they generally show less of a gap between ideals and practice than the exclusive groups. They tend to define their purposes more carefully and are less capable of being perverted into mere instruments of campus distinction. They train their members in solving social problems and in maintaining high purposes in the face of indifference or opposition. They are the campus counterparts of religious and social movements in society at large.

RACIAL GROUPS

A dramatic feature of American university life is the large number of students from foreign lands. They tend to form groups, either informal or formal, depending on the numbers present. The largest racial groups in the institutions studied were the Jewish, the Chinese, the Negro, the Japanese and the Latin-American. These racial groupings in the very midst of our institutions of higher learning make a world in miniature and provide an antidote to provincialism. To the authors it seems obvious that the treatment of such groups at the hands of American fellow-

students is a test of the sincerity of the political and religious ideals conventionally professed. It should be said at once that in some of the institutions studied the democracy of college life was found to be sufficient to overcome social barriers and to admit members of all races into its fellowship upon an equal footing.

Racial groups resemble residential groups in that they facilitate spontaneous friendships among their members, but there is a decided tendency among some of the racial groups to limit their friendships to those of their own race or nation. This may be due to diffidence, to exclusion from the major portion of the student body, or to a conscious desire to conserve the racial culture. Where such clannish tendencies prevail a racial group may cut itself off from the wider contacts which mean social education. An interesting accentuation of the racial group consciousness is noticeable in such exclusive social groups as Chinese, Jewish, or Negro fraternities. Even though all but one of the institutions visited were in the North, the testimony indicated that race relations were seldom considered satisfactory, by white Americans or Negroes or foreign students.

The chilling effect of being in a university but not a part of its social life was reflected in this frank testimony by two Chinese students in an endowed metropolitan university:

> The university makes neither for nor against our growth in character. We Chinese are not in close touch with campus life. We form a group by ourselves, and live about the same as if we were not in the university.
>
> I room and eat with other Chinese. There is little prejudice toward us but there seems to be indifference. We do not know other students but pass on the campus like strangers. We did not expect this large city attitude.

Race loyalty and mother tongue draw together the Chinese, Japanese and the Latin-American groups, while exclusion from other groups affects the Orientals slightly, but has much to do with the unification of the Jewish and Negro groups. The most highly organized racial clubs are developed by the Chinese, though they also participate freely in the activities of international and cosmopolitan clubs. The Japanese are present in smaller numbers and are generally reserved. One reason given for the greater prominence of the Chinese students in interracial mingling and cooperation is that as a rule they have larger allowances and do not have to engage in self-support to such a degree as the Japanese.

The tendency to aloofness was found to be quite pronounced also in some of the Latin-American groups.

Americans are thought by many students from abroad to be indifferent to their presence, or to regard them with curiosity, and to fail in hospitality, while American students also seem to foreign students superficial and devoted to frivolous social affairs. These attitudes inevitably accentuate the racial group-consciousness. On the other hand, no small amount of hospitality and genuine friendship is extended by the American members of cosmopolitan and international clubs, by Christian associations, and by churches and private citizens. The authors reached the conclusion that the Cosmopolitan and similar clubs are making a definite contribution toward better understanding between American and foreign students, even though in the interviews in which this subject was mentioned opinions were by no means unanimous as to the usefulness of such clubs. A good description of this type of club at its best was furnished by a foreign student in a large university:

> The International Club is one of my finest activities. Its motto is "Above all nations is humanity." Fifty members—every country represented. It is non-political but aims to spread international good feeling and understanding. To me, it is the greatest organization on the campus. There are some faculty members who are just as active as student members. In our programs we have talks by different men about history, politics, and life in their countries. There are no opinions or judgments rendered.

The Negro, Jewish and Oriental groups will now be considered in somewhat greater detail.

NEGRO GROUPS

In the majority of institutions studied there were few, if any, Negro students. Where there were only a few they formed no clannish groups but mingled with other students. Where they were present in considerable numbers friction and discrimination was likely to arise, as shown in these excerpts.

A colored woman student in a state university said:

> There are seventy-five colored students here. Thirteen of these are girls. Housing conditions in —— are bad. A colored girl is not safe in that district. Families of the girls who come here hate to have their children live in such a community. That is why there are so few colored girls here. The

dean of women is trying to secure a home for them, next year. One sorority of six Negro girls has been formed.

Discriminations between the colored and whites is shown in the classroom, in athletics and in scholarship.

Eating houses near campus do not serve colored students. The International Group, an outgrowth of the Indianapolis Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement, is helping the colored problem. They plan to speak to shopkeepers about their attitude toward Negroes. The colored girls would not dare to go to a white church. The colored students are not even members of the Cosmopolitan Group.

A Negro law student in another state university described the situation there:

> There are two colored fraternities with houses, and two colored sororities without houses. There are about seventy-five or eighty colored students. The majority of these students are found in the town. An officer called the leading students together along with two local pastors, and asked that the colored students practice voluntary segregation in the Commons. After consultation we refused to do this. To this he replied that if we persisted in this position it might force this issue in the next legislature. We agreed that when more than one Negro entered the Commons we would try to seat ourselves together. Since this interview I have heard nothing more of this problem.
>
> In two of the courses race problems were discussed. In the course in which prejudice existed, no white student was allowed to sit next to the colored students and a colored student was not allowed in a row in which there were white girls. We colored students are not admitted to anything at the university, save the classrooms and the convocation. We are not admitted to the theatres of the town, save at a very restricted section in one.

A prominent athlete in the same university, a southern white man, spoke from his own point of view:

> There are Negroes here. Folks do not know how to treat them up here. I do not want anything to do with them. The students are too easy with them. Two Negro girls will hold the whole walk.

Less frictional situations were described in such testimonies as follow.

A Negro in a large coeducational university said:

> We colored students mostly cook for ourselves. It costs us about $4 per week. We cannot get service at the white

barber shops. There is a colored barber. We have our own dances and our own house parties. We have fair treatment from the college authorities. There is no discrimination on the campus, in the lectures, or athletic events. We have started a magazine. The colored students do not go to the town church. The few that go to church go to a little church in the west end. There is discussion of a plan to secure a house for the colored girls.

A freshman Negress in a small coeducational institution, located where there is some race discrimination, showed how her own liberal attitude and personal worth had disarmed prejudice:

> I am one of the three colored girls here. I know of no colored student who has ever lived in the dormitory, but hope I may do so sometime before I leave college, as I wish to have all the fine experiences of college life, and think I could sing the college song with so much more feeling if I had been a member of the hall. I have had perfect treatment here, have attended church and parties, and been invited to the girls' rooms. I think it is unfortunate when the Negro and the white marry, as intermarriages will cause to be lost something of the warmth and kindness of the Negro; also, it is up to the present almost always the inferiors of both races who mate. One great difficulty in better understanding is the great indifference of so many on both sides, who will not take the trouble to learn conditions and needs. Few understand that the desire of the colored person is not to intrude, but rather a seeking of soul for soul, of mind for mind; color is a mere incident, and the cultured Negro girl when reaching out to the cultured white girl is not looking for social recognition so much as for mental companionship.

A Negro student in an endowed metropolitan university said:

> I know of only one case of discrimination—a colored girl passed the try-outs for the choir three times but was refused admission, and when pressed, the director admitted it was because of her color.

A constructive group relation between Negro and white girls in a state university was set forth by a faculty member:

> There is a definite racial problem here. Until this year Negroes were entirely segregated. At present there is a group of Negro and white women, now increased to about fifty, whose aim is to discuss problems and establish coöperative relations on campus. This group has discussed racial relations, religion, and education. Recently the Negro girls arranged a tour and took a group of white girls over the "high

spots" of Negro life in the city, showing them the newspapers, banks and homes belonging to Negroes. It was a real revelation to the white girls. They saw Negro community life. They met Harvard graduates who were the sons of men who had been bound to the lowest ranks by the white prejudice.

JEWISH GROUPS

Discrimination against Jews on account of race was present in one form or another in most of the institutions where they were found in noticeable numbers, but it was seldom obtrusive. The authors believe that the following testimonies fairly reflect conditions.

The head of a women's dormitory in a coeducational university said:

> There is a pretty distinct line drawn here between Jews and Gentiles; though both may attend functions of a social nature, there is a natural segregation without rancor.

A law student in a state university declared that "Jewish students do not form Jewish groups but mingle with the entire campus."

Speaking of a Jewish fraternity of which he was a member, a senior student in a state institution said:

> My fraternity is particularly interested in the individual student, and his standing in the college. This is caused by the fact that we are Jewish and must stand well, else we are subject to criticism. We realize that if one Jew does anything wrong, all the Jews are damned. Therefore, we do not allow any one on the campus to get anything on us. We have eleven members and are pretty much segregated on the campus.

There was recognition of Jewish ability in an eastern coeducational university.

> The anti-Jewish feeling is strong, but there is no discrimination against them in most of the activities. The manager of one publication and the captain of the baseball team last year were Jews. There are a few Jews in fraternities and some Catholics, but they are selected.

The officer of admissions in another eastern university described the provisions for admitting Jewish applicants:

> We have three bodies of data in connection with admissions. The examinations, the school records and the personal recommendations of the headmasters and principals of schools. Our

average is about 13 per cent. Jews of whom 43 per cent. are local and 57 per cent. are not local. The limitation of numbers helps to reduce the number of Jews. We hold the right to exclude those who are distinctly unpromising, either in their work or personality. We interview all students who do not have clear certificate, and for all who have a certificate we have the full records of grades and recommendations. It is not true that the Jews are superior to the Nordics. The best solution we have been able to arrive at is a personal understanding with the high-school principals who send large numbers of students here. Any student who has a great many letters of recommendation written about him is apt to have something wrong with him.

Jewish qualities were thus appreciated in an endowed university for men:

> There are about fifty-eight Jewish students out of an enrollment of 2,000. On the whole they constitute a rather fine group. Three or four, on the basis of their personal qualities, have been taken into clubs.

ORIENTAL GROUPS

Oriental students have much the same status as non-fraternity students in most of the institutions visited. They are accordingly stimulated to form national groups, which are highly organized. The following testimonies describe student groupings of Orientals and their relations with Americans.

A Chinese student in a state university related his experiences:

> Chinese students have difficulty in finding rooms. Landladies want all Chinese or all American roomers. We think this is the wrong policy. The Chinese would like to learn from the Americans and if they are excluded they can't. Customs are different. A few do live with Americans. We have a clubhouse wholly occupied by Chinese, but others live in houses with Americans. The trouble is being removed to some degree. The Y. M. C. A. is the association to which most Chinese students go. There they enjoy themselves, playing games and making friends with Americans. The secretary helps us by arranging social gatherings with American people. All letters are written to him. He has been in China for many years and understands us. A class in English for Chinese students is a real service.

A Chinese graduate student described the group life of the Chinese in the same university:

> The purpose of the Chinese Students Club is to promote friendship between Americans and Chinese, to coöperate with

other Chinese organizations in this country, to work to help the new Chinese students locate, register, etc., to have international socials, and to occasionally invite American friends to Chinese socials.

The wife of a professor in the same university said:

> It is easy for American students to establish contacts with the foreign men students but very difficult with the girls, who are on the defensive. Blame rests partly on the American girls who are tactless. The Hindus are difficult to deal with here. As coming from an older civilization they feel a not-offensive superiority. Foreign students are mostly picked people, serious-minded. They despise the easy ways and the "getting-by" of American students. They are getting much academically but are warned to pass by our code of morals. They come for, and will receive little outside of, our academic offerings.

A pastor in the same community said:

> I find it easy to establish a contact socially with foreign students except the Hindu, who is aloof and very philosophical in his methods of thinking. The Filipinos and the Chinese, when they do come into the church, make the finest workers. I have never known one of the foreign students guilty of marked immorality. The American students do not associate with them much, and are very unwilling that the girls should ever do so.

A Filipino graduate student in philosophy in a large university complained of lack of friendliness in Americans:

> I associate mostly with the foreign-born students' group. This group makes for a better moral life. However it is hard work for foreign students. The language difficulties make them keep at their studies so hard that they can't go bad.
>
> We foreign-born students would like very much to have relations with the American people. We, in the Philippines, are hospitable and serve visitors as best we can. There is no similar response here and this hurts us. The entire group of foreign students would welcome any opportunity to understand Americans. None of us believes that books alone are enough. One of the principal things we desire is to learn about American life. Because of this inability to enter American life, students from India are advising future students to go to England instead of America. Americans very seldom give us an opportunity to be in their homes. They are willing to discuss relations with us, but they fall down in practice. The student volunteers talk about human brotherhood but in practice they do not make us feel at home in their land.

EXCLUSIVE SOCIAL GROUPS: FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES

The inquirers made a careful study of what are here termed the exclusive social groups, namely, the fraternities and sororities with national affiliations, and similar local societies, where the chief emphasis is put upon congenial social attachments. A large amount of spontaneous testimony, from students and faculty, from fraternity and non-fraternity men and women, was received on the subject, every conceivable point of view, one would suppose, being represented. From their own observations and personal experiences and from the impressions received in numerous interviews, the authors have endeavored, in the pages that follow, to give what they believe to be a true presentation of the main facts in the situation.

Membership in these exclusive social groups is sharply selective, decided by active members of the group as a whole, and permanent in character. These groups largely control undergraduate social life wherever they are present in force.[3]

An analysis of fraternities, sororities and kindred societies in the institutions visited revealed the dominance of a standard type, in which the members, or the majority of them, eat, sleep, study and play in a house or quarters of their own. This type was found to prevail in the institutions, or departments of the institutions enumerated below:

Organizations	*Institutions*
National fraternities and local clubs for women	Bucknell University University of Chicago
National fraternities	Massachusetts Agricultural College Wabash College and Sheffield Scientific School Yale University
National fraternities and sororities	Cornell University University of Illinois University of Kansas University of Michigan Middlebury College Ohio Wesleyan University of Pennsylvania
Off-campus invitation houses	Smith College

[3] The strength of the Greek letter fraternities and sororities in American colleges is indicated by these figures: In 1923 there were 2,020 active chapters of sixty-six national fraternities, owning 1,207 houses valued at $32,826,000. Their total membership, including alumni, was 465,094. For the same year, the twenty-one national sororities had 744 active chapters, owning 219 houses, valued at $4,080,500, and their total membership was 113,095.

In practically all institutions where national fraternities or sororities exist there are also local clubs designed on the same general model.

Interesting adaptations of this standard type have been made in certain other institutions as follows: at Amherst, members eat at large boarding clubs, chiefly in inter-fraternity groups; at Dartmouth, definite limitations have been placed on the size and cost of the houses, and on the number of resident members, freshmen being excluded; at Randolph-Macon, Swarthmore, Yale Academic, and Wellesley, members sleep and study chiefly in dormitory rooms and eat at common dining-halls or clubs; and at Princeton, where the clubs are non-secret, the members eat and rendezvous in the clubhouses, but sleep and study in dormitory rooms. Minor adaptations occur in some of the other institutions.

In three other institutions, Grinnell, Rockford, and Mount Holyoke, separate houses for social groups do not exist, and exclusive social groups have not been allowed to develop. Each of these colleges has a small student body and is not subject to the same difficulties as the large universities. Noticeably at Grinnell the emphasis upon the life of the college as a whole has been maintained. Rockford is located in a city from which the student personnel is chiefly drawn, and the city social organizations play an important part. Mount Holyoke is provided with campus residences for nearly all the students, the membership of each house being by college assignment.

PURPOSES OF EXCLUSIVE SOCIAL GROUPINGS [4]

The keenness of the freshmen's desire for satisfying group relations has already been indicated. In the non-exclusive groups earlier described, membership ordinarily comes gradually, and is by self-selection. Exclusive social groups, on the contrary, aggressively go after a freshman whom they desire as soon as he has entered or even before.

The purpose in joining a fraternity, sorority, or similar local club varies with different individuals. With many the fraternal ideal, the desire for companionship with congenial friends, plays the leading part. The traditional reputation of the fraternity and the idealization of the fraternity man as the successful collegian

[4] The standard type of exclusive social groups, already described, is taken as the basis in the descriptions and appraisals which follow. This is because of its comparatively uniform character, its predominance in most American colleges and universities, and the general public interest in fraternities and sororities.

have tinged with romance this phase of student life. Other appealing elements are secrecy, opportunity for familiar association with campus leaders, easy entrée to social affairs, and the attractiveness of the house with its often lavish provision for comfort. The desire to "belong," to come within the standardized group structure of undergraduate life, especially to secure the recognition and backing of an organized group, impels many. To them, to "make" or fail to "make" a certain fraternity means success or failure in college.

The objects of the exclusive group are also manifold, and the success with which they are achieved varies widely. Prominent among them is the desire to form a band of congenial spirits who will stand by one another for their mutual advantage. The perennial human effort to create a perfect brotherhood finds here an ever-fresh expression. But beyond common advantage and intimate friendship there is often present the ambition to be of service to the institution or to society as a whole. Specifically religious purposes are generally incorporated in the ritual which is handed down from one generation to another. As one fraternity man expressed it to the inquirers, "our fraternity has a high basis of membership and the very strict religious ritual exercises a strong influence."

Idealism suffers here, as elsewhere, at the hands of daily life, and the easy-going practices which tend to take root may substitute a selfish for a social purpose. The emphasis depends partly on tradition but still more on present leaders. A specimen case was thus characterized:

> In this fraternity the devil-may-care, hail-fellow-well-met spirit was instilled in all. No doubt it still had ideals, but they were not stressed.

Original purposes may also be altered by the fierce competition frequently prevailing among fraternities. Prominence for both the group and its members becomes a dominating ideal, as is shown in such remarks as the following:

> We are always thinking of how our house will rate in student activities. We have two members on the football team, the baseball captain, and the chairman of the student council.

Distinction is often the dominating purpose in the selection of members, in the control of the freshmen, and in the systematic pushing out of the members into student activities.

> Our fraternity attempts . . . to make our group excel other groups, to develop prestige on the campus. . . . We seek for extra-curricular offices of importance, for scholarship rating or anything that will bring prestige. . . . We pledge potential leaders because they are essential to group standing.

On every campus where fraternities and sororities were found their assets and liabilities were warmly discussed with the inquirers. Many of the witnesses—whether students or faculty members—held that the liabilities were preponderant, not because the purposes of the societies were undesirable, but because they were not lived up to. On the other hand, many of the members said they found in a fraternity a realization of their ideal of brotherhood and learned through it the value of teamwork. Others pointed to the ritual of initiation that presents religious idealism in an appealing form, and emphasis was laid upon the personal attachments of the most intimate and enduring sort that had been formed. In short, not a few student and alumni members have found that the purposes first made effective by their fraternities have been among the most significant influences in their lives.

A point of view almost diametrically opposite was expressed by others, who told of the crowding out of the finer purposes by the lower, and the insidious deterioration in the morale of the group. The undermining process in a chapter, it was asserted, is often due to the dominance of the ambition to achieve campus distinction, so that men are rated by their "points" rather than by their substantial qualities. A blind tradition of group superiority and a determination to hold the lead at all costs were held responsible for the distortion of values and for inducing individuals to violate their finer ideals out of loyalty to the policy of the group.

MEMBERS IN EXCLUSIVE SOCIAL GROUPS

Who are these "Greeks"? The type of the membership depends chiefly upon the controlling purposes of the group. Personnel and purposes act and react upon each other. Where certain characteristics and interests are persistently featured, the personnel tends to correspond and there is apt to be a high degree of congeniality within the group.

Perhaps the strongest single bond of congeniality is found in the so-called athletic fraternities. A few groups succeed distinctively on the basis of moral and religious ideals, and one or more

houses of marked superiority in men or women of this type were found on almost every campus. High scholarship also serves as a unifying bond in a small number of houses. The results of the inquiry, however, did not indicate to the authors a personnel predominantly representative of idealistic viewpoints.

In sharp contrast to selection on the basis of congeniality is the more widely accepted principle of selecting an all-round crowd of potential leaders in activities. The following are selected as characteristic statements of fraternity leaders:

> My fraternity seeks athletes, men of literary ability and other types so as to have an all-round group, stresses entrance into campus activities, tries to make an all-round man.

> Fraternities desire men who will make a fair appearance, be athletic or interested in campus activities; be good mixers who will help the fraternity internally, and be fair students, although this is often forgotten. Wealth counts, but one cannot get in on wealth alone.

> We look to our members for scholarship, leadership, individuality, personality; money is not considered. Of course it counts, but the fact that a boy's father has money or is an alumnus will not insure the boy's getting in.

In a small college for men it was said that

> About 80 per cent. of the men here go into fraternities. This is hard on the man who isn't in. Only about fifty or sixty men are left out. The Orientals, the misfits, and the Negroes are the ones left out, although the Negroes have a fraternity of their own on the QT.

From the information gathered in the interviews it would seem as if the popularity type of members was even more conspicuous in the sororities than in the fraternities. But the inquirers do not consider the evidence at all conclusive on this point and give the following excerpts only as descriptive of some sororities in various institutions:

> There are many sorority girls who are very well dressed, well painted, and whose real object for being at —— is to secure a man.

> Usually activities girls and popular girls are chosen as members, but they would have been active and popular without clubs.

> They are a wealthy group, able to spend and make a large noise about it. They have considerable influence. The repu-

tation of —— as a university where you have a good time attracted this group, and in turn they create that reputation.

They are chosen for a sorority on the basis of good grades, popularity and democratic spirit.

A professor in a college for women considered sororities narrow and undemocratic:

The harm and danger of the selective groups are that they may take in only one stratum of college life, one type of girl, and that the members will thus lose the coöperation and socialization that comes from living with different kinds of girls; they may never learn to consider any other background than their own—social, economic, or religious. Such groups are undemocratic.

The snobbishness of members was a fault frequently referred to, as in the following testimony, given at a state university:

There are many drawbacks in the sororities. Several times the legislature has threatened to abolish them. Their members are snobbish; think they are better than anyone else. They are self-perpetuating. Many students have refused to join and there have been withdrawals. The criticism is brought against them that they "take a girl after she has earned her spurs."

A dean in another institution balanced such criticism by this hearty tribute:

The biggest girls on the campus are those who are in sororities, and yet remain democratic; they can better make friends in the sorority, and their life makes for better scholarship without being at all artificial; rather does it serve as an incentive for a girl to develop the best there is in her.

In fraternities and sororities alike, the inquirers have observed that an emphasis upon external success and popularity results in the selection of a considerable number of light-weights. Solid qualities are apt to be ignored. It is strange how often the leaders fail to realize that these tendencies render high congeniality impossible. Propinquity without affinity breeds irritation.

RUSHING

Competition is the underlying fact in fraternity rushing. With the standard type fraternity and sorority rushing ordinarily comes at the beginning of the academic year and is confined to a definite period, as a rule less than three weeks, but sometimes much longer.

Under this system competition begins when the desirable freshmen reach town or before, and moves with intensity until the most besought have been pledged. Through a series of dinners and entertainments the fraternities present themselves to the freshmen and, in turn, pick and choose among their guests. The following testimonies were all by members of fraternities:

> A system of "close pagings" is followed here. For ten days at the opening of school rushing is permitted, and a hectic time of breakfast, luncheon and dinner engagements is the rule; a time trying alike to the rusher, rushee, and the non-rushed.

> Freshmen are usually pledged on the basis of their past or potential success. The weightiest arguments in favor of a candidate for membership consist in a recital of pre-college political and athletic achievements, in a reiteration of the fact that he "comes from a good family," and the vague assertion that "he is our type."

The rushing system here is too quick—not long enough to know the man.

> The fraternities at this denominational college use outlaw and cutthroat methods. They grab the freshmen off the trains and have them at the house before they know what they are doing.

Sorority rushing in a coeducational university was thus described:

> At present we have ten national women's fraternities, each electing yearly ten or twelve freshman members. Altogether about 125 freshmen out of nearly 300 are bid to fraternities. Of these some thirty-five may stand out as especially attractive and these thirty-five will be rushed by the leading sororities, each eager to gain the cream of the freshman class. The period of rushing is hectic for upper-class fraternity women as well as for the freshmen.

The longer the inquirers have considered the prevalent rushing system the more deeply have they been impressed by its drawbacks. The above descriptions are considered by them to be typical of the methods practiced except where the pledging of members is deferred by common agreement. The freshman is faced with a momentous decision at the beginning, or even before the beginning, of his college course, when many other matters are also being pressed upon him, and when the entire situation is

strange. How can he judge the comparative merits of the competing fraternities? A step affecting his entire career may be taken in haste and repented at leisure. When "pull" and flashy characteristics win membership, a rankling sense of injustice is aroused in the minds of some of the deserving who are excluded.

The fraternity likewise suffers. It frequently gets the members it does not want and misses the persons who would be most congenial. It substitutes expensive and artificial entertainment for simple hospitality. Where the "success" motive dominates, the successful fraternity may form an inflated notion of its own excellence. The attempt to "sell" the fraternity to the freshman produces a line of salesman's talk ready for instant vocalization. The pressure of competition makes fraternity rushers condone concealment and overstatement, which, however, the freshman, sooner or later, is sure to detect and likely to resent. A group of classmates within a fraternity are rarely allowed to select their own members unless they assert the right in advance of pledging, as they sometimes do. A man may find his closest relationships arranged for him by his elders in the fraternity, much after the fashion of an arranged marriage. Furthermore, sharp rivalries spring up between fraternities or sororities which profess kindred objectives and which might have much in common.

The morale of the college also suffers. Its arrangements for receiving new students and having them arrive at an understanding of its finer purposes are interfered with. The spectacle of fraternities fighting to capture desirable members damages the corporate social life. It means that under the surface are fear and distrust, and that the less ethical societies, putting their success foremost, will take unfair advantages. No power in the college world has yet been strong enough to curb this intense competition whether it be the autocratic authority of administrations or the democratic authority of interfraternity councils. In so far as the traditional rushing system continues to operate, it makes college life less of a training ground for a democratic citizenry, and the fraternities and sororities less of a shrine of fellowship. Fortunately, the shortcomings of the prevailing system are widely recognized, and exclusive social groups in many institutions are attempting to mitigate them, especially by prohibiting pledging until the sophomore year.

INITIATION

The power of tradition replaces that of competition when time for initiation comes. The horseplay which may precede the ceremony is generally harmless and it probably helps to build group solidarity. In a few cases only were questionable practices discovered.

> Some of the fraternities here, since paddling has been forbidden, are using tonic drinks. One is the asafœtida tonic. I will never forget the first drink I took of it. One of these drinks is called "otervine." The drinks are forced on the freshmen.

There also enters an interesting element in the psychology of youth—the desire to make the novitiate suffer what the members suffered, as if by compensatory justice.

> The purpose of the punishment of the freshmen is to reduce them to a condition where they can be moulded. Some of the fraternities use tubbing and paddling. There have been a few cases of iodine branding. The —— fraternities are the worst for physical punishment.

The most prevalent forms of discipline are connected with the performance of menial tasks about the house.

The fraternities themselves are reducing or eliminating the grosser forms of initiation and attempting to secure the loyalty of new members by reasonable methods rather than by physical force and the infliction of indignities.

Several varieties of situations are illustrated in the following:

> Here a freshman cannot be initiated until he has been here two quarters or finishes in spring quarter his academic work creditably. At initiation time the high spot of fraternity life is reached. (An endowed coeducational university.)

> We have an instruction class for new pledges, once a week, in which we tell them of the traditions of the fraternity, social conduct, campus life. (A state university.)

> Our fraternity happens to be especially rough. We put freshmen through a terrible week of rough stuff. You have to work like everything to get the pin. Therefore, you appreciate it. For example: I had road distances every night to fetch things, with a limited amount of time to get back. Trips and trips, until tired out. Then boxing matches, and so forth, blind-folded and otherwise. I believe we are tougher here, in initiation, than anywhere in the Middle West. The notion

> seems to be that nothing is worthwhile unless you have had to suffer for it. We appreciate our pin the more because of this. (An endowed men's college.)

> Our fraternity has abolished the roughness of Hell Week. We are determined not to demoralize a student or belittle him so he will lose self-respect. University does not allow paddling. We make no attempt to fag a man physically. Our initiation starts at 4 P.M. one day and closes the midnight of the next day, instead of lasting ten days as formerly. Most fraternity initiations are damnable, largely due to the influence of alumni. It is strange, but the alumni are the fellows who demand the rough stuff. We discipline the freshmen by having them run errands, keeping them to regular hours of study, making the house clean, and so forth. (An endowed men's college.)

The historic stages in the exercise of social control are illustrated in the trend of undergraduate initiations: physical force, authoritative command, rules and regulations, persuasion, and finally voluntary coöperation on a basis of equality. The grosser methods may still be seen, but the better methods are increasingly common.

SOCIAL INFLUENCES

When a freshman finds himself at last a full-fledged member of the group, a long process of anticipation and preparation has been completed. Now that he belongs, he wishes of course, to become a "regular fellow." As a newcomer, he is docile. He has been prepared in many ways to accept the group pressures which now begin to close in upon him. The distinction of having been elected, the mystery of initiation, the obvious cordialty with which he has been accepted, intensify his tendencies in the direction of regularity. The morale of the crowd which he has entered, therefore, becomes extraordinarily important; not primarily the ideals as formally expressed, but the standards of living, the conversation, and the habitual practices of the crowd begin to shape the new member by a daily pressure. If it is sound to hold that youth ought to be free from rigid pressures toward conformity, then their prevalence in the fraternity system constitutes a serious weakness. The president of one of the colleges visited, said to a large group of fraternity men:

> There is one thing I would like to do for this college, and that is to put an unbreakable lock on every room, so that any man who wanted privacy could have it when he wanted it.

In the colleges where members eat in interfraternity clubs, or live and study in dormitory rooms, it is felt by many that the excessive group pressures are avoided and freer play is given to individuality.

The way in which the life of the group grips the individual is set forth in such testimonies as these:

> In the fraternities there is no marked individuality. The tendency is to mold a man to the fraternity type in the first two years; then they feel that his development is satisfactory in the last two years. Any man with an individual peculiarity has a bad time.

> The life in each house is somewhat too intense, but it is a kind of melting pot; it knocks the rough edges off a man, polishes him, makes him responsible to and through his fraternity.

A faculty member in an agricultural college thought that the influence of the fraternities on the whole was negative:

> Of course, it is not extra-harmful except on the fellows who are just on the border line. They are pulled down in general by fraternity life. The fellow with high character resists the levelling influences of the fraternity. I can't see, however, that a man with high character is much helped.

A professor in a denominational college said:

> The dangers of fraternity life are snobbishness, swell-headedness, drinking, and especially crowd pressure—they make men all alike. When a fellow joins a fraternity here, he soon dresses and talks differently. This is very superficial but it molds the man for the worse if the leadership is bad.

Another opinion was:

> The chief difficulty with fraternities is the loss of the individual in the group. Crowd pressure controls the individual, warps the judgment and forces moral concessions, overemphasizes the importance of the freshman by spoiling him in rushing, in spite of making him do the dirty work after initiation. The fraternity develops snobbishness and a sense of superiority without regard to actual merit.

Similar tendencies were observed in sororities by a faculty member:

> Girls come expecting to be "rushed." They feel as if they had attained everything desirable when they are admitted and

begin to copy the ways and manners of the sorority; they become artificial and settle down into an unfortunate smugness.

This process with some men has the advantage of levelling them up to the standard of the group as a whole, as shown in the following testimonies by members of fraternities in both small and large institutions:

> Fraternity means more than any other group to me. It is home. It has done me a lot of good, taught me how to mix and given me confidence. I always was bashful and afraid to mix. My fraternity has knocked this out of me.
>
> Fraternity life brings mingling with men, develops personality, broad-mindedness, teaches how to meet people under any and all circumstances.
>
> Fraternity has been the most helpful thing in my life. I have lived four years with thirty to forty fellows. The job of getting along with these very people, who change from year to year, develops one greatly.
>
> My fraternity gives a very great training for freshmen. Living with men and getting along with them is what a freshman needs and fraternity develops this.
>
> The members of our fraternity have definite ways of letting you know if you have objectionable traits. They always ride your weaknesses.
>
> Fraternity life is valuable for a business career, since it teaches me how to meet all kinds of people.
>
> The fraternity's group consciousness is the strongest thing. One doing wrong not only disgraces oneself but his fraternity group.

Among the forces by which the members are influenced, to a large degree unconsciously, are the style of the fraternity quarters and the scale of living. The fraternity house, if the alumni are in moderate circumstances, is likely to be commodious, but not more expensive than an average house in the university community. But if the alumni membership includes men of large means, their loyalty is appealed to "to make our house the finest on the campus," and a disproportionately expensive house is built. A vicious circle results. The house is costly to maintain; men of means must be included in the membership, large endowments are necessary. As a professor pointedly remarked:

> The economic pressure on the fraternity in view of the heavy expenditures in connection with these big houses is very great. They have to take in well-to-do men, and economic reasons forbid letting them drop out. For some fraternities the house is a great financial load. In not a few cases the house expenses and the standards of the social life of the chapter entail a severe strain on the funds of the majority of members, and tempt them to live beyond their means.

A notable contrast is afforded by the Dartmouth situation, where President Tucker, some years ago, set a definite limit to the cost of any fraternity house, and to the number of men who might live in it. This single measure has had a decided effect upon fraternity life in that college.

The significance of the business management of a fraternity for the character of its members was suggested by the purchasing agent of a large university. He stated that, in an effort to aid the fraternities in coöperative buying, he found only two out of thirty-seven in a position to discount their bills. He added that the student stewards fell easy victims to the "free sample methods" of a wholesale grocer, thereby continuing the vicious system of easy credit and "pay at convenience." "Moral training," he remarked, "is found in just such things as this."

Apart from the more subtle influences so far considered, many fraternities attempt to exercise definite control over their members in certain ways. A few of them have adopted a *laissez faire* policy, under which the members, once initiated, are free from strict supervision; but the mortality of the membership under this system is usually high. Many other chapters exercise some formal control, ranging from one or two simple regulations to strait-jacket supervision. Members are frequently grilled on their delinquencies, and brought up to the standard of the house. The farmer boy is put into evening clothes and taught the manners of polite society. Table manners receive attention. Friendships with both men and women are supervised. Mutual improvement meetings are held to discuss personal defects.

A meeting for personal criticism was depicted by a man in a western college:

> We have a unique round table. On Sunday night after 9:30, two men are up for criticism. It is known beforehand who the men are to be and any fellow may say what he cares to in criticism of them. It has worked very well. At the end of the criticism, each man is allowed a chance to reply.

Many criticisms are made but usually the men merely thank the brothers and make no defense.

The process may be seen at work in fraternities at several large universities in the following excerpts:

Crude, rough boys, coming into the university and entering a fraternity soon are molded and acquire a needed polish. Manners lose their roughness. A characteristic of American youth is its impatience of control, its absolute independence of authority. The fraternity meets this lack. House government here is the strongest holding factor.

The independent men do not go in for intercollegiate athletics as much as men in organized groups. Organized groups force their men into them.

Fraternity house-mothers here are a great asset to morals. They are much more than housekeepers. They are the leaders of culture in many of the houses. They polish the boys, train them socially, and their presence restrains rough-house and smut.

Similar testimony came from sorority members, the first in a denominational college, the other three in state universities:

The sorority acts as an incentive to better work and is thus good in spurring on the lazy or indifferent girl, who has the ability to do the work, but who might not accomplish it if not pushed.

Our Monday evening sorority meeting is a sort of "truth meeting." The upperclassmen discuss the shortcomings of the freshmen and later the president of the sorority meets those criticized and communicates the verdict of their older sisters.

Our house-mother is the finest on the campus. The older girls have given her much authority where many house-mothers have only respect. The boys going to the house always meet her, as they would meet the mother in any good home.

The sorority has certain advantages; the older girls help the younger ones, and push them into activities, expecting each freshman to engage in three, and all above freshman year in two activities. Disadvantages are that the chaperonage is lax; the chapters are too large; girls meet too few types of girls and are narrow and self-satisfied; think their own group has all the good things.

Study hours are established for those lacking concentration and delinquents are tutored in their work, as in the following:

> The freshmen are assigned to upperclassmen or to older men. They may even room with them. In our house it is the duty of the older members, to whom the freshman is assigned, to interview the instructors and find out how they are doing. About 90 per cent. of the instructors coöperate very well.

> We try to bring up freshmen in the right way. Our effort is to develop them into the right sort of men. Every freshman is put under one or more upperclassmen to see that he studies hard and works well, and these upperclassmen are responsible to the President of the fraternity. A man must have a grade of C before he can be initiated. We try to see that every freshman gets out and meets a number of men and engages in one activity. We want him to be able to talk and convince other men, so we try to get him to do it as a freshman.

The most aggressive organized control of new members, however, is in relation to extra-curricular activities. Sustaining the campus reputation of the house usually means stimulating the lazy or retiring to become successful competitors. The Dartmouth Report, prepared by a committee of twelve representative seniors, put the situation thus:

> Freshman delegations, flushed with newly won social recognition, and eager to prove their loyalty to the group, often lay out in detail the extra-curricular careers of each member, so that the delegation in senior year will be recognized as the "best on campus." If some queer spirit dodges the fraternal pressure to engage in the extra-curricular orgy, he pays the price by losing his rating in the lodge-room of friendship. The nonconformist is not one of them in the house because he is not one of them on the campus, to wit: this number of chapter presidents who are "big men" on the campus. Fraternity men tend to overemphasize the value of athletics and extra-curricular activities. Here, then, is the first false article in the fraternity creed; in order to prove his loyalty to the group, to gain influence within the group, and to pave the way to social success, a fraternity man must make every effort to land a job at the gymnasium or to star on the athletic field. In search of social recognition and popularity, swarms of freshmen, sophomores, and even upperclassmen, who would never engage in activities for their own sake, year in and year out drudge in competition and sweat on the athletic field.
>
> The fraternities thus burden the individual with social tra-

ditions which absorb interest and leave but little time, energy or will for the curriculum and independent intellectual activity. It is seldom that one finds at Dartmouth the deep and real enthusiasm for art, politics, and philosophy so common in European universities. Involved in the vicious circle of gaining more and more prestige, the fraternities habitually sacrifice the deeper desires of the individual in the chase for empty group honors. Fraternities devote about half of their time and energy to perpetuating their organizations. They have erected vast machineries for lining up, pledging, and initiating new members. The brothers tend this machinery at the sacrifice of attention to the deeper joys of fraternity life. Instead of developing beautiful personal relationships, they develop heavy chinning lines; instead of indulging their desires for congenial, intimate association, they chase after prominent freshmen. In fine, fraternity men are so occupied in maintaining the organization that they have no time for the real delights of fraternity life.

MORAL PRACTICES

The question of moral practices in fraternities is one of the most actively debated points in the whole range of questions under consideration in this inquiry. The inquirers, on this point as on others, asked no set questions, but recorded the testimony as it was given by the students or faculty members interviewed. The points of emphasis made by these witnesses, a majority of whom were themselves members of fraternities, supplemented by the authors' own observation and large acquaintance with the subject, form the basis of the presentation here given.

The following excerpts give a glimpse of fraternity morals on the better side:[5]

> We take general honesty and morality for granted. This is assumed to such a degree that we almost never have to say anything about it.
>
> We have made rules against drinking. I think the fraternities are a great influence for good. Some of them insist on clean language. The fraternities require freshmen to go to the convocations. Two university officers and two faculty members are fraternity men. They have an influence in our house. The rules are carefully enforced.
>
> Most fraternities stand also for houses free from gambling, most of them imposing a fine of $50 for games played for money in the houses. Drunkenness is also taboo, and gen-

[5] The excerpts do not present a total picture, as the moral issues involved in the relations of men and women are more fully treated in Chapter V.

erally punished. An inferior woman stays but a short time as house-mother.

The next excerpt refers to the policy at a state university where the fraternity situation was good:

> The university encourages the formation of fraternities. Students can be handled more easily. —— is a so-called religious fraternity of very high standing. Here, as elsewhere, fraternities vary from year to year in morale. —— was for years the strong religious fraternity, but not so now. They used to have a fellow who lined them up every Sunday. Now their leadership is gone. But the fraternities cleaned up the booze problem this year.

Of a leading fraternity at the same university a professor said:

> —— is a splendid fraternity. Men do not drink or smoke. Some of the —— men are campus leaders. It is really a church fraternity.

The next three excerpts depict conditions at a metropolitan university:

> The moral standards here, including the fraternities, are cleaner than any place I know. Of course, many of the men live at home. There is almost no drinking in the fraternities —the boys tell me, at least. I did hear of a case of an alumnus drinking and being ordered out of the house by one of the boys.

> At many fraternity parties held away from here, drinking is allowed. Here men would not drink in their houses, for fear of losing their reputation, but outside they have all the fun they want.

> Fraternity life here is good. There is lots of liquor and vice in the communities round about and practically no university supervision of fraternities. There is supervision, however, in the houses and conditions are kept fairly good.

A senior student in a denominational coeducational institution reported:

> There is some drinking but I am sure that the bootleggers do not visit the fraternities. There is some bridge playing—not very much for money. There is not much betting in the fraternities—nearly all of it is done at the hotel where the visiting teams, or representatives of visiting teams, are found. There are some smut sessions, but in our fraternity a man is fined if he even mentions the name of a woman at a meal.

The corrupting influence of the convivial alumni who return for big events has been hard for undergraduate members to curb. In one state institution an effective plan adopted by many of the fraternities was the writing of letters to alumni in advance of celebrations saying that the bringing of liquor would be offensive to the chapter.

The excerpts which follow present the darker side of fraternity morals, the witnesses in several cases being in the same institutions as were represented by the foregoing favorable extracts. This contrast in conditions among fraternities in the same college and in opinions about conditions was found by the inquirers at nearly every institution visited. In their opinion the average lies nearer the bright than the dark extreme. The evils mentioned were profanity, drinking and bootlegging, smut and gambling.

A dean at an endowed university said:

> Fraternities here tend to break down the individual. There is drink at the houses to some extent. There has been one flagrant case, involving thirty or forty men.

A faculty member at a state university reported "a great deal of drinking in some of the fraternities":

> The fraternity move to control the drinking has been half-hearted. There is a great deal of betting. I would say that one-third of society here is fast, and that with one-third of the students society comes first.

A fraternity alumnus said:

> —— Street has a flock of fraternities. During my time there were many who got drunk. Some fraternities pay little attention to drinking and some really give tacit approval. For example, whenever a young fellow who had never taken a drink finally does so, the men applaud. Few fraternities realize their responsibility to the family and to the individuals whom they take in.

This statement was by a woman student at a state university:

> A good deal of drinking goes on. Some fraternities won't pledge a man unless he carries a flask. Only once in a while do intoxicated boys come to sorority houses. Some go to —— inn. The parties are usually respectable but university students are asked not to go there because of the gambling and drinking going on in the back room. Some girls drink with the men. If one sorority sister drank she would be asked to leave the sorority.

Of another state university it was said by a fraternity member:

> There is a lot of petty gambling—penny ante, etc. They permit gambling only on Friday and Saturday nights; but there is no professional gambling.

A fraternity senior in a coeducational endowed university said:

> Smut is very flagrant in fraternities. The worst feature, at present, is the interfraternity smoker, where there is some drinking and low-grade entertainment. Sometimes women entertainers from the city are employed.

A sorority girl, a senior at a state university, reported a bad situation:

> The relations between fraternities and house-mothers sometimes are very fine, and the house-mother, if of the right sort, does much to keep up standards. The story is told of —— house, that when two men came in under the influence of liquor, the culprits were promptly expelled. The rest of the men refused to subject their house-mother to such conditions.
>
> On the other hand, men are sometimes very lax and stubborn. In the —— house, it is said, the house-mother refused to stay longer, as there was so much drinking, and some men were thought to be bringing women to the house for immoral purposes. Later a colored woman was given a good salary to cook for the boys; but even she could not stand the conditions and refused to stay.

There was little testimony regarding moral standards in sororities. This may be because women's morals on the same points are generally high and also because their moral issues arise so largely in their relations with men, which are taken up in Chapter V. The next two excerpts, characterizing sororities at two state universities, in the opinion of the inquirers, would together form a composite picture of a large number of others:

> The sororities as a whole are clean and fine. One to three girls in each may be somewhat lax and lower the tone and the reputation, but these are pretty likely to be dealt with and removed for the sake of the sorority, even if they do no special harm to the other girls.

An alumna visitor reported a week-end scene which the inquirers believe to be typical of a minority of the sororities visited by them:

> This was the first sorority I have been in where artificial manners were not obvious. Everyone with the exception of

about six, was planning to go to the Military Ball or the Art Fête. The freshmen members were all very pretty scatter-brains, chosen by the sorority most obviously because of looks and money. After supper, some of the girls played bridge—some danced. There was much riot and rushing about as though the top had been blown off for the week-end. One of the girls told me *The Plastic Age* was a true enough picture of college life. It might shock a few New England fathers and mothers but it was just about as things really were.

INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCES

The influence of fraternities on the intellectual progress of their members varies widely, among houses and institutions. No single generalization is possible. Tables of comparisons between the grades of fraternity members and non-members in any one institution are misleading when applied to the collegiate situation as a whole. In certain houses there appears a downward sag apparently due to crowd pressure, lack of privacy, low standards and similar influences. In other houses scholastic standards are maintained by house traditions, careful supervision of the study hours, social diversions and extra-curricular activities of underclassmen. The publication of the comparative averages in grades for the different houses serves as a stimulus to better work.

The following excerpts illustrate various types of situations and efforts to maintain high averages:

All students reported low in class-work must observe study hours in a seminar room, from seven-thirty to nine-thirty evenings and Saturday mornings from ten to twelve. Freshmen observe study hours every Saturday morning. These rules are under the supervision of the scholarship committee of each house. In sorority houses, freshmen are especially disciplined.

The sophomores here do poorer work than the freshmen, because of the relaxation after freshman year. There is also a penalty system on the fraternities which makes it necessary for them to see that none of their men fail. One point is deducted from the general fraternity average for every course that a member fails.

A dean said:

Two boys were at my office yesterday and said that the fraternity initiation had played a large part in their failure in scholarship. Several boys want to get off probation merely in order to be initiated.

A faculty member declared:

> The publishing of fraternity ratings is valuable. Fluctuation in ratings in any house may be quite abrupt. One has to remember that they are boys and slump quickly.

A dean in a college for men described one of the most depressing situations which was anywhere seen:

> Our records show that fraternities, when first organized, get high marks. As they develop in activities, marks fall. The fraternity takes a big proportion of a student's time. The non-fraternity average is always higher than the fraternity average. There seems an almost complete indifference, a lack of deep fundamental purpose, in our fraternities.

A sorority officer made a similar observation regarding sororities:

> The object in curtailing freshmen activities in our sororities is to make them concentrate on their studies. The result has been to make them concentrate on the men. They spend much time in social life and in dating. By the end of the year their habits are formed and they're lost to college work.

Serious reading and conversation on impersonal interests are apt to suffer in the intense life of fraternities and sororities, though the inquirers cannot say that this defect is greater than it is in undergraduate life as a whole. Here and there a few members who share an interest in world affairs, literature, or other subjects will make them a fruitful theme of discussion. Ordinarily, however, the "all-round" members are too superficial or too unawakened to any outside interests to share in intelligent conversation upon them. At no single point perhaps do American undergraduates compare with European university men to greater disadvantage.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES

The intimate relationships of fraternity life would naturally be thought to be conducive to religious development. In a few of the fraternities visited this seemed to the inquirers to have been the case. In more of them, however, the pressure of outside activities, a diverse personnel, or the presence of members critical of religion seemed to be hindering religious development. Frequently the members who hold aloof from religion are not irreligious, but are reacting against earlier experiences in which re-

ligion meant coercion. They are indifferent rather than hostile, and do not realize how far their demands are being met by many progressive preachers.

The prevailing habit as to church attendance and active participation in religious organizations depends upon the personnel and leadership, which vary from year to year. The limited amount of testimony received on this point was almost unanimous in holding that the drift in fraternities is unfavorable to these practices. A few houses were found where religious discussion groups were being conducted with distinct success. Various attitudes among fraternity and sorority members are reflected in the following excerpts, the last three of which came from state university men:

> Church attendance is about fifty-fifty. It depends on the individual group. Morals also vary in accordance with leadership.
>
> The fraternity seems to wean the men away from religious influences. It demands so much time socially that the members do not have time for other things.
>
> This fraternity was formerly made up of men of one church. They still require members to be churchmen. Twenty-six to thirty in organization now and is a regular fraternity. We do not stress social affairs. All are active in church.
>
> The fraternity certainly does not lend a stimulus to churchgoing. In my experience, men do not oppose, they simply sleep all morning.
>
> We have a Sunday-morning house-meeting on Christian fundamentals—led by house speakers, faculty, and university pastors. During the week, we have an evening service led by a student, on a Christian topic. For example, "Sincerity of Jesus," from Fosdick's *Manhood of the Master*.

CONCLUSIONS

The authors have reached the following conclusions as to the internal influences of exclusive social groupings.

The internal influences operative in any fraternity or sorority house tend to change considerably from year to year on account of the rapidly shifting personnel and leadership. The high group morale of one year may sag the following year. The reverse requires vigilance and courageous leadership. The level of any house almost invariably depends upon a little knot of influential upperclassmen, who set the pace for the whole group.

The daily pressure of the group upon the individual is well-nigh irresistible. It may, indeed, constitute the most effective school of character education through which he ever passes. If the finer aspirations and ideals of members meet with indifference or ridicule, they are quickly silenced and may even be destroyed. A constant and often unperceived conflict of ideals is going on in these groups. It involves a series of sharp issues between alternatives such as these: liberty to be oneself or forced conformity to group standards; luxury or simplicity; dissipation or temperance; participation in activities for distinction-hunting or for individual development and service to the institution. The deciding factor in these issues is generally the courage of the men or the women who lead the group.

RELATIONSHIPS

RELATIONSHIPS WITH ALUMNI

Many chapters owe to a few alumni, often faculty members, the maintenance of the highest traditions of the group. The following excerpt by a young alumnus in a large university represents such a situation:

> We have a wonderful group of alumni. They come back to the house with splendid enthusiasm and loyalty. They sit around with the fellows and talk till way into the night about the biggest things in life and what the fraternity has done for them. They get to know us and let us know them. Three of the biggest men in the whole alumni body of the university help us a lot in our business matters.

The inquirers concluded, however, that the influence of such men was often neutralized by other alumni, of low ideals, who appear chiefly at chapter reunions and big athletic events. If they are attractive, clever talkers and noted in their business, they are likely to cast an evil spell over inexperienced undergraduates. A member of the faculty at a state university spoke on this subject from intimate knowledge:

> The younger alumni are a very bad influence. There is more drinking among this group than among undergraduates. The young alumnus is generally "oiled" when he returns. The other kind are not so apt to come back. The older alumni stand for high scholarship. Football time is a bad time for alumni drinking. What can you say when a group of fra-

> ternity boys find that, when the State's attorney comes to visit them of an evening, they are able to get bootleg beer in thirty minutes because he is there and wants some?

Some alumni, especially the younger, who are ordinarily steady at home, make occasion, upon a return to the fraternity house, to indulge in drinking and loose talk, perpetuating the worst traditions of their time. The inquirers learned of cases where such conduct had been resented and vigorously rebuked by the undergraduate members.

RELATIONS WITH NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

As far as the inquirers discovered, the relations between the chapters and their national organizations were ordinarily too remote to be significant, though notable exceptions were found. In fraternities having fewer chapters, and in those where high traditions have been carefully handed down, the national influence has been considerable. The large possibilities of improvement in this direction are unquestionable. In some instances, the national officers whitewash a situation such as the following, that needs a housecleaning:

> A student member went with the facts of a particularly flagrant case of immorality in the house to a fraternity brother on the faculty. He sent for a national officer who came on a visit of inspection and found everything "fine and clean." This is one of the vices of the system. When it is desired to clean up, or to move against anything the chapter condones, it is impossible to clean things up. On the other hand, when the members will back a movement, one gets the strength and force of an organization.

Whether the annual conventions of national organizations help or hinder the setting of high standards is a question on which no judgment is warranted. That some of them are distinctly unsavory was asserted by the student president of one chapter:

> The yearly convention for most fraternities is demoralizing. Many feel that it is to be expected, so they hold their conventions away from a college town; for example, they take them to Canada, Bermuda, etc., or to some big city. Certainly the convention jeopardizes the reputation of the local chapter. Therefore, many local chapters will not invite the national convention on the ground that "our reputation on the campus is not such that we can stand the convention here."
>
> I have two suggestions: (1) I do not believe in yearly con-

ventions. If the main reason for having conventions is the work they do, then there is no reason for having them. The convention costs a lot of money and the work could be accomplished by meeting once in every three or four years. (2) I suggest an executive council with a paid travelling delegate, to study the chapters and bring a report to the convention. We could finance this by dropping out a few of the yearly conventions.

RELATIONS AMONG FRATERNITIES ON THE SAME CAMPUS

The relationships among fraternities on the same campus appear to be friendly most of the time. The intense rivalry among certain groups at rushing time is for the most part a passing fever, and erstwhile rivals readily make common cause against non-fraternity opponents in campus politics. These combinations among fraternities, chiefly for the purpose of electing their members to offices, are largely the ground for the cynical charge so frequently heard by the inquirers that "pull" and politics, rather than merit, win preferment on the campus.

> Fraternities form combines. One fraternity will say to another: "If you will support our men we will support yours," and so a combine of many interests is made. By political trades it is fixed so that the leading man who misses the football captaincy is given the junior class presidency. Groups of students often vote for a man not because he is the best candidate, but because he represents a fraternity with whom they are in alliance.

Interfraternity organizations, like the "Pan-Hellenic" councils, are found in most institutions where fraternities and sororities exist. They vary widely, but few effective councils were heard of by the inquirers.

A faculty member in a large university spoke as follows of one of the moderately effective councils:

> The interfraternity council is a very weak organization. The fraternities do not want a strong man elected, because of politics. They want someone they can control. One fraternity was tried this year for pledge-tampering and was denied social privileges for one year, by the council. The decision was protested as unfair, but it was accepted in the interests of authority.

Where fraternity life is less intense politics are held in abeyance, as in the following instance:

> At this college there is little fraternity politics. The fra-

ternity men attempt to break up any cliques they find forming.[6]

RELATIONS WITH NON-FRATERNITY STUDENTS

The relations between fraternity and non-fraternity men and women were found to be strained in a considerable number of the institutions visited, and the inquirers were told frequently that the present situation was fundamentally unfair. Those who are not invited to join fraternities resent the implication of inferiority, particularly as they know that selections are often made on superficial grounds. This adds to the sense of loneliness a sense of injustice which could be greatly lessened by better rushing methods and by later elections. The gap is widened by the attitude of superiority assumed by certain members toward non-members. The wealth of many of the members also adds to the strain. Some fraternity houses are so lavishly equipped that an unfortunate cleavage is created between those who live in them and the average student outside. Responsibility for taking the initiative to mend the situation would seem to the authors to rest chiefly on the fraternity men and women.

These relations are illustrated in the following quotations:

> The independents here do not get a square deal. It is perfectly certain that they will not secure the offices. I would favor dormitories for the freshmen.

> The non-fraternity man does not have much chance here. For example, nobody paid any attention to the non-fraternity two-miler who won at the track meet, although plenty of men welcomed the fraternity winners.

> The fraternities here, in my opinion, are not a menace to democracy. While I am not a member, I recognize their value. However, I now would not care to be a member. I prefer not to provincialize my friendships.

A fraternity member in a small coeducational institution believed that "the college would be better off without fraternities":

> They lower the morale and ethical tone of students. I am a fraternity man but there is no representative of my fraternity here. A man nearly always relies on his fraternity to put him over. The fraternities, too, look upon their members as the only ones to hold office. They connive between themselves to hold the positions. While I have succeeded in get-

[6] Fraternity relations to campus politics and elections are also mentioned in Chapter III.

ting major positions, yet I am sure I would have gotten them earlier had I been a member of a local fraternity. The fraternities are good for a social gathering-place, which is necessary.

The cleavage between sorority and non-sorority girls is often a sharp one, and is illustrated in the following testimonies, all but the first (from a small coeducational institution) referring to state universities and the last two being by faculty members:

> I am of a sorority group, but do not feel sure that I approve sororities here; I saw so much unfriendly competition and so much unfair politics in the last student election, when the sorority groups not yet made national managed things so that their own members were elected to office in the hope that it would help the sorority, that I feel the sorority may be a harm rather than a help.

> The problem of non-sorority girls is a difficult one. Some fraternities will not date her. She has no group to help her make friends.

> An entirely wrong precedence is given to sororities. It is true that a sorority girl gets a better chance to go with a better class of men. It is also true that in these groups there is a political alliance that is not right in a democratic university. Some freshmen are perfectly miserable here.

> Here, as in any university, there is discouragement for many who do not make a sorority. There are others, however, who willingly take an independent stand, who do not wish to belong to any one group.

> The sororities are not snobbish, though outside girls sometimes think them so. The reason is that many girls are shy, or find approach to others difficult, and so misunderstandings arise.

More satisfactory situations were thus described:

> There is a friendly and democratic spirit between sorority and non-sorority girls.

> I am not in a sorority, but do not miss it as I came in with a large group from my home city. Sororities here are not snobbish. I have many friends among them.

The selfish political combinations among fraternities already referred to, and further described in the following chapter, are believed by the inquirers to be the cause of the most acute strains. Better practices, however, ordinarily prevail. The authors con-

sider that the following testimony from an endowed coeducational college describes the best situation discovered:

> This college is like a big family. The fraternity houses are loafing places and studying places. The men live in the dormitories but eat in the big dining-room in the women's dormitory. Members of the same fraternity do not eat at the same table, and frequently do not room with fraternity mates. Not all the members of any one fraternity live in the same hall. There is very little fraternity politics.

RELATIONS WITH COLLEGE LIFE AS A WHOLE

Conditions and opinions were found to vary widely in different colleges as to the participation of fraternity men and women in the life of the institution as a whole. The inquirers recognize that most groups secure from their members a livelier participation in activities than is present among non-members. This, however, does not necessarily imply unselfish devotion to the welfare of the institution, since participation in many cases is for "rating or mating" purposes, and is practically compulsory. The inquirers consider the outstanding criticism to be that the fraternity member puts fraternity loyalty ahead of loyalty to the college.

Four small or medium-sized colleges are represented in the following testimonies:

> Men put the fraternity first and the university second.

> We think here of the college first and the fraternity second.

> The fraternities control nearly everything in this college; a non-fraternity man is nothing except in athletics. A man is miserable if not in a fraternity. It is important for a man to have social activities and standards, and fraternities help him in this.

> This college is frightfully divided. Societies detract from the general unity. The main liability here is the lack of college feeling. Societies are much to blame, taking interest from all college events.

The weak points in relations among fraternities on the same campus, in their participation in the life of the institution, and in their relations with non-fraternity members may be summarized in four questions: Is pull more influential in attaining recognition than solid worth and hard work? Do political combinations thwart democracy and handicap individual merit? Do the rewards of college life go to those who belong to organized groups

possessing social prestige? Is it fair that a man or woman whose real qualities are not discovered in the hectic rushing period should be handicapped throughout the college career?

RELATIONS WITH THE ADMINISTRATION

One of the difficult questions facing college administrators today is this: How far is the administration responsible for the group life of the institution? In the smaller colleges where comparatively simple conditions prevail this question is easily answered. In a large or rapidly growing university, however, the question is vastly more complex. The university is unable to provide adequate housing facilities and frequently turns to the fraternities for aid, but the administration cannot evade some responsibility for the character of the group life in these houses. The authors believe that very few administrators hold an extreme *laissez faire* position, maintaining that the only responsibility of the institution is for instruction. The tendency is to accept increased responsibility for the total life of the student, and in some cases, notably with women students, beyond the borders of the local community. Administrators also recognize that some policy of guidance or supervision of fraternities is more or less inevitable, but the policies followed among the institutions studied vary widely. They were found to be of four kinds:

(1) Three of the smaller institutions studied completely excluded fraternities and sororities, putting emphasis on the solidarity of the student body. They believed in the values of spontaneous friendship groups and of interest and purpose groups, and maintained that the exclusive social groups hampered the free and full development of character.

The exclusive groups may also cut athwart the unity of an entire college. When Woodrow Wilson was President of Princeton he believed that the club system was so fundamental an obstacle to the democracy of learning that it should be replaced by "quads" open to all. He declared:

> Any organization that has the idea of exclusiveness at its foundation is antagonistic to the best training for citizenship in a democratic country. If such organizations exist, they must at least be subordinate and not of the very structure of the place.

(2) Other institutions exercised a close control over fraterni-

ties. Such a situation was thus described by a faculty member in a small coeducational college:

> About five years ago a secret society of athletes was discovered on campus. The president of the college said to the students who objected to its organization, "Boys, that is your problem. You can get a fraternity out of here more easily than I can." For about a month, through the college paper, the group who were thought to be involved were attacked. Then one morning in the college chapel the president of the college brought up the subject, stated his objections, and showed why the college would be better without it. He said he would like to meet the men who were involved and discuss with them what could be done. To a man the group reported at his office at the appointed time. They agreed to give up their relationship on one condition: namely, that no secret society which the faculty had not previously consented to should ever exist on the campus. Now every freshman signs a pledge: "not to join, revive, or initiate a fraternity without the consent of the faculty."

Administrators in three universities spoke as follows:

> I see no escape from the position that the university must supervise all campus activities because they are material factors in character formation. The administration is trying to put its finger on all undergraduate organizations.

> I believe the fraternities a good thing. We hope to make more and more out of them administratively. It is easier to handle an organized group than a disorganized one. As a rule, our fraternity groups are clean.

> We got the fraternities to ask for rules, after they had realized the need. Any rule forced on a man is bad. If he requests it, he honors it.

(3) At the opposite pole of policy are those institutions which adopt a *laissez faire* attitude. They maintain that the exclusive groups represent a natural and inevitable tendency in human life, which should be allowed to work without interference. It is maintained that both exclusion and close supervision set up an artificial environment, the counterpart of which will not be found in the student's later experience. They hold that the injustices in the fraternity system also characterize social life as a whole and that the student should sharpen his teeth upon them in his undergraduate days.

A member of a university faculty remarked:

> The college has no direct relation as far as controlling the fraternities is concerned. There are no college rules pertaining to fraternities except that a house has to go to the president for approval before being established.

Another faculty member said that "improvement of conditions in fraternity houses was best made from within the house."

(4) In still other institutions, notably the larger and more complex, the administration actively encouraged the formation of as many fraternities and sororities as students desired, in the belief that exclusive social groupings are not only inevitable, but helpful in meeting the housing shortage, in simplifying supervision and in supplying needed social life. The belief was expressed that by multiplying fraternities the exclusiveness due to lack of opportunity for membership was reduced to a minimum. This policy, coupled with close supervision, was held by a number of presidents to be the only feasible solution to social problems in the larger universities.

The administrators and faculty members who held this view are represented by the following excerpts:

> I believe in fraternities; grouping is inevitable; the more you have the better. Regents passed a rule to develop as many fraternities as possible, thinking this would do away with snobbishness. There are a very great number now. Every one that wants to can belong to a fraternity. A local chapter with no national affiliations has just as good a chance in the university as one that has them.

> We have many fraternities and sororities. They are all encouraged by the administration. There is less and less distinction between fraternity and non-fraternity men.
>
> This is decidedly a fraternity institution. The university administration frankly adopts the fraternity method of approach to the larger section of the student body. We would like to have more fraternities formed, thus lessening the independent group, which is not wholesome.

The dean in a small coeducational institution believed that the fraternities were a good thing:

> We hope to make more and more out of them administratively.

On the other hand, an administrator of large experience thus voiced the opposing view:

Fraternities have already been multiplied here practically to the point of saturation. The personnel of the student body is too heterogeneous to have no groups, but the interest groupings are more natural.

VARIATIONS FROM STANDARD TYPE OF FRATERNITY

The preceding discussion of exclusive social groups has been concerned with the standard type of fraternities, sororities, and local clubs, in which the members eat, sleep, study, and relax chiefly in their own houses.

Notable variations from this standard type were found at Amherst, Dartmouth, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Princeton, Yale College, Randolph-Macon, Wellesley, and Swarthmore. At Amherst, where the men sleep, study and live for the most part in their fraternity houses, but eat in interfraternity clubs, the latter practice tends to lessen the intensity of the group life and strengthen interfraternity acquaintance and relations.

At Dartmouth only a small proportion of members, upperclassmen, live in the houses, and a considerable proportion of members eat at college commons. The administration has placed a limit on the cost of the houses and extravagance in current expenses is frowned upon. The democracy of dormitory life tends to widen the friendships of the members, and the fraternity occupies a secondary place in the life of the college. At Massachusetts Agricultural College, also, fraternity men eat in the college commons.

At Princeton, the clubs are exclusive, but local and not secret. They occupy houses to which members go only for meals and recreation. The university requires practically all freshmen and sophomores to live in the college dormitories. Democracy and corporate unity are fostered also by the postponement of elections to the clubs till the latter part of the sophomore year. There are periodic discussions of how to include all students in some sort of club but no satisfactory solution has yet been devised.

At Yale Academic, Randolph-Macon, Wellesley and Swarthmore, the exclusive fraternity or club members do not regularly use their houses either for meals or for sleeping quarters, but use them as social headquarters, for formal meetings and for special events. Interesting contrasts between this type and the standard type of fraternity are suggested in the following excerpts from students in eastern colleges:

One's eating club group is different from his fraternity and there is a good deal of freedom between different fraternities. Men go into any house freely. Still, the non-fraternity man is disadvantaged in his friendships.

There is real democracy and very little cliquishness. Men do not eat in the fraternity houses, but in the big dining-hall.

The men live, sleep and study, but do not eat in the fraternity houses. They eat at mixed tables in boarding-houses.

Fraternities do not have any boarding within the house. There is divided opinion on this. As a freshman and sophomore, I thought it would be fine to eat in the house, but I have changed my mind. Some of my finest and fastest friends have been made outside by the mixing in eating-houses. At the tables at which I now eat there are five fraternities represented.

An alumnus, who was editor-in-chief of the daily at one of the universities for men, but who at the time of the inquiry was studying in a large coeducational university which had the standard type of fraternity said:

I have been interested in coming here to contrast the fraternity systems of the two institutions. At —— every student, fraternity man or non-fraternity man, lived in a dormitory where rooms were assigned by a drawing of lots, which put the entire class on an equality for the choice of suites. Furthermore, dormitories were reassigned each of the four years, thus changing the corridor groups and providing a maximum of democracy.

Our five fraternities each had a clubhouse with limited eating facilities, but no sleeping quarters. Although the houses were constantly available as clubrooms, the presence of an individual member was required only twice each week, once for an evening with his own class delegation, and once for the meeting of the entire fraternity. The small number of fraternities with their consequent large membership—averaging thirty-five in each class delegation—kept fraternity feverishness, so noticeable elsewhere, down to a minimum, widened the circle of a member's fraternal acquaintance, and yet preserved the most desirable elements of the Greek letter camaraderie. Fifty per cent. of a class was non-fraternity, thus decreasing the element of disappointment in the outsider.

Rushing and initiation stunts were confined to four weeks of sophomore year. Freshman year passed normally without social worries, allowing complete acclimatization. By sophomore year character had been better sized up and friendships made which could be enhanced by brotherhood, but would not be broken if the friends "went" different fraterni-

ties. The danger of uncongeniality in a fraternity group was also decreased.

A BALANCE SHEET ON EXCLUSIVE SOCIAL GROUPS

In summarizing the values of fraternities and sororities of the standard type, the inquirers have prepared the following balance sheet which represents their conclusions. The positive values generally claimed for the standard type of fraternities and sororities and found to be present in numerous instances are these:

(1) Intimate friendships.

(2) A fraternal purpose frequently expressed in idealistic and religious terms.

(3) A definite pledge making each member responsible to the group and for its reputation.

(4) A fixed residence with acceptance of the responsibilities involved.

(5) Group influence and discipline tending to raise deficient individual members up to the standard of the group and to develop personal ability—group criticism of personal traits.

(6) Group stimulus and backing for participation and leadership in campus activities.

(7) Group backing for high scholarship, moral standards, and religious interests.

(8) Relations with superior men or women alumni of the chapter who visit the campus.

(9) Social and business connections with members of the same fraternity from other colleges.

(10) A convenient basis for the social life of the college.

(11) Acceptance of group responsibility for the conduct of members, thus facilitating the administration of undergraduate affairs.

The negative or demoralizing factors most conspicuously present appear to be as follows:

(1) Real congeniality is frequently replaced by an artificial "brotherhood"; needless irritation is caused by enforced proximity to uncongenial members and the helpful influences which often come through a free selection of friends are sacrificed.

(2) The customary rushing system involves hasty choices and creates an unjustifiable sense of superiority or inferiority. Lightweight persons of smooth address have an unfair advantage and in turn perpetuate their own kind.

(3) The rigidity of the membership oath continues to bind the individual when congeniality fails and ideals differ.

(4) Fraternity and sorority houses frequently are much

more luxurious in their appointments and standards of living than the homes from which their members come or which they will be able to provide for many years after graduation.

(5) The prevailing attitudes and practices of a group tend to sag below the standard of the better half of the members.

(6) The standards of scholarship and morals are unstable, often fluctuating sharply from high to low, but only gradually and by means of able leadership from low to high.

(7) Group pressures suppress the individuality and conviction of members. When men are too immature to resist, low practices may persist from year to year under the secreted conditions.

(8) Group coercion often forces members into uncongenial or meaningless activities on the campus.

(9) Group reputation becomes an end in itself.

(10) The fraternities and sororities become the arbiters of social life on the campus upon a discriminatory basis.

(11) The influence of alumni of the baser sort upon undergraduate members is at times unfortunate.

(12) Personal and group selfishness is accentuated in political combinations at the expense of non-member students and of the life of the institution as a whole.

(13) Notwithstanding well-meaning officers and a professed concern for the standards of the chapters, the national organization is not infrequently spineless on vital matters.

Although a majority of the inquirers are fraternity members themselves, they unite in the judgment that the variations from the standard type, as at Amherst, Dartmouth, Yale College, Princeton, Swarthmore, etc., involve a less absorbing group life and conserve social values more adequately than the standard type. They tend to have the following advantages:

Wide and democratic acquaintance; better standards of scholarship through the greater independence and privacy of the student living in dormitory rooms; the development of the student's moral and religious standards without inordinate group pressures; the interests of the institution as a whole more apt to be put above those of smaller groups; greater freedom in following personal interests and in making varied social connections; and a greater likelihood of members being elected upon a basis of merit or congeniality through the postponement of election. Furthermore, in non-residential chapter houses, relief from the economic necessity of filling fraternity rooms and tables reduces that motive for swelling the number of members.

CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES

The discussion advances now to the much debated question of constructive efforts by exclusive social groups themselves and by academic authorities. Many witnesses said in effect, "If groupings of some sort are recognized as inevitable, conditions now are about as near right as can be expected." At the other pole of opinion were a large number who held that the situation, especially in those colleges and universities where the standard type of selective group prevailed, worked unnecessary injustice to the excluded students.

The inquirers have attempted to set down what they consider the more promising efforts that are now in operation, or suggestions that have been made by those to whom they have listened. These efforts may be made by seven different agencies: by local chapter; by the national fraternity; by interfraternity action upon the local campus; by interfraternity action upon a national basis; by variation from standard system; by administrative policy, and by action of national academic bodies.

THE LOCAL CHAPTER

Remedial efforts within the single chapter are based for the most part on the conviction that the existing local system, whatever it is, is fundamentally all right, but merely requires a few improvements. This is probably the attitude of the majority of student members. They are so enmeshed in their own fraternity life as to be incapable of an objective view, and often feel that criticism of any kind is treason rather than genuine loyalty. Representatives of this point of view favor such changes as the following:

(1) More careful selection of members. This would be possible by improved methods of rushing, extending over a longer period, and under the competitive system in vogue would require an agreement upon each campus, to be honestly adhered to by all groups party to it.

(2) Granted that undergraduate leadership is apt to be good and bad by turns, it is a fundamental necessity to maintain strong upperclass leadership. Leadership cannot wisely be delegated to alumni.

(3) Improvement in leadership and stable standards can be achieved through increasing the friendly counsel of alumni and faculty members, who may be chosen by the chapters to live in the

house or be otherwise drawn into close and responsible association.

(4) Voluntary limitation of the cost of houses and reduction in the running expenses whenever these have become extravagant as compared with the general standards in the institutions.

(5) The development of closer social relations with members of other fraternities, and of friendship with non-fraternity men or women.

(6) Refusal on the part of the chapter to join in political combinations or to seek college offices for its members by clannish methods.

(7) Secreting instead of displaying fraternity insignia and avoiding unnecessary publicity as to fraternity affairs.

(8) Choosing members for their individual strength rather than for their conformity to type, coupled with a reduction of group pressures and a policy of fostering individual independence and ability.

(9) The acceptance of group responsibility for thinking through the moral issues of student life.

It is probable that the suggestions already made cover the outside limits of constructive effort to which even the more progressive undergraduates in the fraternity and sorority systems of the standard type would be willing to go.

THE NATIONAL FRATERNITY

Many thoughtful observers of the situation believe, however, that far-reaching improvement may be made by strengthening national supervision. They advocate full-time national officers, frequent visitation by such officers to each chapter, candid reports to the national body upon conditions discovered, and closer supervision of delinquent chapters, including the temporary suspension of a chapter when it fails to respond to suggestions.

INTERFRATERNITY ACTION ON THE CAMPUS

Efforts through interfraternity action on the local campus have been of three main kinds:

First, regulation by an interfraternity organization, which adopts agreements as to the times and places when rushing and pledging may be conducted; as, for example:

> The function of the Pan-Hellenic council is to regulate interfraternity relations. Their most important function has been to construct and execute the rules concerning rushing. Those

rules have not been amended by the faculty but were framed with their advice. The rushing includes the Sunday-evening open house at which as many as one hundred and eighty men pass through the house. The regulations require that no fraternity talk may occur at this open house.

Second, a system of preferential bidding has been tried in a number of institutions substantially as follows:

All the bids go to the hands of a disinterested person chosen by the students. Last fall, the dean of men served in this capacity. This person opens all the bids and sends each girl receiving one a card on which she is asked to place in the order of her choice the sorority among those by which she has been rushed that she prefers to join. These cards are returned and lists of those selected are made from them. Since every girl, though she may have received but one bid, gets a card, no girl can boast of the number of bids she has received.

Third, postponed rushing and bidding by both candidates and societies, sometimes combined as in the following instances, both of which represent variations from the standard exclusive groupings:

Originally the societies had the rushing system. Now the system is that of choice, both on the part of the society and on the part of the girl. At the end of the sophomore year, if a girl is interested in "going a society" she submits to a central committee a list of those societies she would be willing to join in the order of choice, thus making application. The central committee groups the names of the girls under the societies that they have signified interest in, and sends these lists to the societies' presidents. The president calls her group together and they go over the list, checking every one on that list whom they would consider for their society. Then the list is returned to the central committee. It matches up results and assigns according to the choices expressed both by the girl and by the society group. In this way a girl cannot be sure which society of the one she is willing to join she will get into, but she can be sure, if chosen at all, of being received by one of those that she has signified her willingness to join.

There has recently been a revolution in the clubs because of the evils of rushing week. The sophomores who were not elected by Wednesday or Thursday asked for the privilege of presenting themselves before an interclub committee. They marched by this committee and were looked over like a lot of cattle. This was so bad that it brought on a revolution. As

long as the one-sided selective principle operated some such evil was more or less inevitable. We avoided some of the worst fraternity evils by postponing the election until the middle of sophomore year, but according to the new proposal there will be freer talk with the sophs; and the sophomore may signify what club he would like to join; and on March 1st the invitations will be sent out by all the clubs at once. Then the man would be able to choose which club he would like to join. The new plan will eliminate the atmosphere of mystery. It provides that any sophomore can go to any club man and have his name put up for any club. This must be seconded before going before the election committee. In the same way any club member can put up any sophomore.

If interfraternity confidence and coöperation could be firmly established on any campus any one or more of the foregoing plans could be gradually introduced.

INTERFRATERNITY ACTION UPON A NATIONAL BASIS

The comparatively recent development of a national interfraternity conference, meeting annually to discuss improvements in methods and standards is a significant move. The 1926 session was attended by 165 delegates from fifty-seven national fraternities. Some serious subjects were frankly discussed, for example: fraternities as seen by a dean and by a president; the scholastic activities of fraternities; the program of the chapter visitation officer from the viewpoints of the administrator, the fraternity official and the undergraduate; the deferring of rushing and initiation; the report of the law committee on income-tax exemption of gifts to incorporated fraternities.

VARIATION FROM THE STANDARD SYSTEM

Instances of such variation have already been presented in the eating-house system at Amherst, in the limitation of the cost of houses by administrative action as at Dartmouth and the provision for a portion of the members to eat at the Dartmouth Commons, in the use of the clubhouses for dining but not for rooming purposes as at Princeton, and by the use of fraternity houses as social centers only as at Swarthmore, Wellesley, Randolph-Macon, and Yale College.

ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES

The institution itself may introduce administrative policies such as emphasis upon residential group morale, close supervision by

the administration, the prohibition of exclusive social groups, the development of interest and purpose groups, and the fostering of esprit de corps in college dormitories.

Certain critics of the present situation offer a further proposal which applies especially to those smaller institutions in which the fraternity or sorority system is the accepted social framework of undergraduate life and already includes all but 20 or 25 per cent. of the student body. The proposal is that every person admitted to the college should be enrolled in some existing group by advance arrangement between college officials and fraternity leaders, or that a club should be organized to include all students who are not chosen by the fraternities. This would transfer the problem to the administrative authorities and would imply that no "non-clubable" person should be admitted. It is maintained that this would merely involve the frank admission of the fundamental place of group organization in the college and would prevent any student from being consigned to an inferior social station.

An adaptation of this suggestion is found in the proposal that dormitories be assigned by entries or corridors to existing groups, and that the groups thus housed should be made to include every student.

While the two proposals just outlined involve radical departures both for the institutions and for the fraternities, they are held to be practicable if every applicant for matriculation is informally approved by an interfraternity committee which is authorized to guarantee that every applicant so approved will be invited to join one of the fraternities. This plan would necessitate the inclusion of the interfraternity committee in the admissions committee of the institution, the student members making their primary concern the personal characteristics of candidates, and the official members passing upon the scholastic qualifications. It is urged by proponents of this method that the recent development by many institutions of an admissions policy based on personal qualifications merely reaches its logical climax in such an arrangement, and that student participation in determining the personnel of the student body would be a desirable expression of undergraduate initiative. Obviously this suggestion would only be practicable in smaller institutions.

NATIONAL ACADEMIC BODIES

Still other critics of the present order hold that the time has come for action by the associations of college presidents, of college deans, of the presidents of state universities and similar national bodies. This suggestion is based on the fact that the fraternity system of the standard type being national, a single college finds it difficult, if not impossible, to make a marked advance in its own situation, whereas improvements might be effected on the basis of a national agreement.

SUMMARY OF SUGGESTIONS

RESIDENTIAL GROUPS

In connection with residential groups, the authors believe it to be essential for colleges to provide such living accommodations as will give free play for the development of friendships in a setting of sufficient beauty to feed the artistic and idealistic interests of the residents. Worthy examples of such accommodations were found in nearly all of the institutions studied, but they were notably insufficient in institutions which have grown rapidly to large proportions.

Far-sighted administrative measures are required in connection with most residential halls to cultivate group morale among residents. This has been effectively achieved in three ways: By making the group as homogeneous as possible through administrative care in the assignment of rooms; by superior student leadership, as has been done in the Grinnell and Swarthmore dormitories; and by the provision of attractive older women as hostesses or house-mothers, as has been done at the Cornell dormitories for women, and those at Smith College, Wellesley and Mt. Holyoke. The house-mothers of the men's fraternities at Kansas have brought good results.

INTEREST GROUPS

The chief suggestion of the authors so far as interest groups are concerned is that faculties and administrators be on the watch to give them counsel and support. They provide a natural channel for personal relations between faculty members and students. Perhaps the most suggestive examples are found in discussion

groups under faculty guidance, dramatic groups, college publications and scientific and professional groups.

PURPOSE GROUPS

As purpose groups lift the student out of the narrower ranges of interest, and fasten his attention upon the welfare of the institution or of society as a whole, their active development by students and faculty alike seems to the authors a constructive measure of first importance, and one of the best correctives for the weaknesses discovered in the exclusive social groups.

CONCLUSION

Equitable opportunity for membership in some group to any student who desires it, and the encouragement and stabilizing of such a system by the administration are points that the authors wish to emphasize. If it be granted that some degree of grouping is inevitable and desirable in undergraduate life, then the situation of ungrouped students is manifestly unfortunate, if not indeed tragic. Viewed from the educational point of view, therefore, it is essential that attractive groupings be so developed as to include all members of a student body. It may well be questioned whether every student admitted to an institution of higher learning does not have a right to a freer and more equitable opportunity of access to the recognized groupings than is now the rule. If the authorities are primarily responsible for the total process of education through which the undergraduate passes, then have they not some obligation to devise ways by which the values of groupings may be shared by all the students they admit?

Chapter III

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

NATURE AND SCOPE

Wherever one goes in the modern college world one finds the official curriculum paralleled by an unofficial system of extra-curricular activities. Successive generations of students assert that the curriculum leaves unsatisfied some of their most vital interests. It is to supply this lack that the extra-curricular system has been developed.[1] The fact that the two are distinctly separate is deeply rooted in the consciousness of both faculty and students. Speaking broadly, faculties tend to live and think chiefly in terms of a subject-centered curricular world, and the undergraduates in terms of student activities. There are in every institution minorities of undergraduates who, for various reasons, refrain from practically all outside activities, but they serve to throw into sharper relief the many who find in activities their meat and drink.[2]

[1] Strictly speaking there are three categories, namely: curricular or official activities, semi-official activities and voluntary or extra-curricular activities. For the purposes of this study, however, the somewhat indefinite intermediate category is absorbed into the other two.

[2] As one index of the hold of activities on student interest the space devoted to various aspects of college life was measured in the daily papers published at the University of Wisconsin, Princeton, Yale and Chicago, and in the *Smith College Weekly*, for the period from October 5 to October 17, 1924, this time being chosen to exclude the height of the football season. The issues for three days of the period were missing in the case of Wisconsin, and since the *Maroon* of Chicago omits Mondays, only ten issues were included. By way of contrast the corresponding data are given for the *Smith College Weekly* for October 8 and 15, 1924. The results follow:

Topic	Per Cent. of Space				
	Wisconsin	*Princeton*	*Yale*	*Chicago*	*Smith*
Intercollegiate athletics	32	23	25	22	0
Intra-mural sports	4	8	6	10	3
Clubs—Fraternities	14*	4	2	6	5
Social affairs	6	5	3	6	0
Dramatics, debating, literary affairs	11	16	7	5	0
Curriculum affairs	5	3†	8	2	4
Religious affairs	4	4	5	6	6
Student government and politics	6	9	10	1	4
Administrative matters	2	†	3	4	2
General news	11	20	11	18	63
Miscellaneous	5	8	20	20	13
	100	100	100	100	100

* At least half of this space was devoted, not to fraternities, but to meetings of campus clubs.

† University notices excluded.

Many students have told the inquirers that only in student-initiated activities do they find exhilarating experience. The authorized curriculum, they say, is "passive," "formal," "dead," "canned information," and almost wholly lacking in "adventure" and "creative activity." Alumni and older students commonly advise freshmen to "get into activities" if they "ever hope to become real fellows" and "get the most out of the university course."

A student editor wrote:

> If the freshman is to get the best out of his university course, he should enter some form of activity. Probably the best known form is athletics. At the end of four years, between forty and fifty of your classmates will be proud wearers of the "C." You may be one of the number. . . . Many opportunities are offered for those whose abilities are not along athletic lines. The man who can balance his university work and his student activities in the right proportion gets the most out of Cornell. (*Cornell Handbook,* 1924.)

HOLD ON STUDENT INTEREST

The variety and intense appeal of the system are suggested by these remarks of a senior, captain of the soccer team, and on the staff of a publication in a large university:

> Work in extra-curricular activities is of great worth to a man. Great numbers of students try out for places on the papers, for management of teams, etc. There are six major sports and about fifteen minor sports. Boys in the sophomore year go out to get these managements and captaincies. There are assistant managerships. In major sports about fifteen try for the managership. In minor sports about six. With the six major and fifteen minor sports this makes a large number of men. There is also a very large group that tries out for the daily and for each of the other publications.

Several of the voluntary activities have stable organizations with a long and honorable history, some of them incorporated and possessed of property, such as the student publications, the dramatic and musical clubs, the athletic associations, the fraternities and the religious societies. A practical question for the administrator and the teacher would therefore appear to be: How can these absorbing and highly developed activities best be wrought into the educational process?

Extra-curricular activities may be classified into five main

divisions: social groupings, athletics, student government and honor system, religious activities, miscellaneous activities.

Miscellaneous activities only are treated in this chapter as introductory to the system as a whole; the other activities are considered in Chapter II (Groupings), Chapter IV (Athletics and Physical Education), Chapter VI (Student Government and Honor Systems), and Chapter VIII (Religious Provisions and Agencies). Chapter V (The Relations of Men and Women) also touches certain phases of activities, but as a rule, the less highly organized.

MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES

The miscellaneous activities to be here treated are: publications, dramatics and musical clubs, public discussions and debates, special campus-wide events, campus politics and elections.

STUDENT PUBLICATIONS

Student publications occupy a very prominent place in extra-curricular activities. In every college studied the students publish at least a newspaper, either daily or weekly, and a college annual. In most large institutions they also publish humorous, literary, poetic, and departmental magazines. One university, representative of several others, has a daily, a literary monthly (the articles for which are supplied by both students and faculty), a comic magazine, and magazines devoted to the departments of commerce, engineering, rural life, athletics and law, and a monthly devoted to alumni interests.

In each of these institutions from 50 to 300 students find opportunities to employ their abilities and associate with their fellows in getting out these publications. A large business staff is necessary to their production. One student daily has a total staff of 200 and a circulation of 5,000. It is incorporated and has a yearly business approximating $100,000. All the reporting, editing, writing and managerial work for this paper is done by students. They claim that the faculty has no control of policy or of methods of management. The paper has its own presses, large business and editorial rooms, and equipment like that of a city paper. This highly coördinated group seeks to "mould public opinion" or "act as a medium of expression for the opinions of the college campus." Other dailies in large universities are also sizable news-

papers, at least two of them receiving wire service from the Associated Press. Some issue Sunday editions with literary or pictorial supplements. They print significant national and international news, and items pertaining to discoveries and inventions which are of special interest to students and professors. These dailies not only give valuable experience to the staffs, but they exercise a considerable influence on college affairs. The contents of a single issue may stir the college to its depths. A few members of the staff receive generous compensation, but most of them without pecuniary reward lavish on the work energy and ingenuity which would win honors if applied to curriculum courses.

The significance of these college newspapers for morale is primarily determined by the purposes that control them. The publishing of news and the exchange of opinion, with a view to serving the institution and the student body, are the generally avowed purposes. Some of the papers have slogans for clean campus politics, new equipment for the institution, higher faculty standards, better student morale, and the like. An examination of the papers published in the institutions studied shows that they are in the main thoroughly wholesome.

The inquirers found from the testimony received that not all the editors were as free from restrictions as they usually asserted. Nearly every institution exercised some form of faculty control, direct or indirect. In colleges where the paper was supposed to be wholly a student production, the faculty frequently exercised an indirect restrictive influence. In others there was direct official censorship. In one university, where the daily was under the supervision of the department of journalism, the editors and writers seemed to be really more free than in some other colleges where the faculty professed to give the editors full freedom. In a medium-sized university, where athletic scholarships and bonuses were given with the consent of the administration and paid through the treasurer's office, the student editors, notwithstanding their knowledge of the practice, uttered no protest but vigorously supported the entire athletic system.

The situation that most favorably impressed the inquirers was found in a university where the paper had been free from interference and had frankly but courteously criticized both administration and faculty, while the faculty in turn supported but criticized it. Upon this free platform, a really constructive agency appeared to have been developed.

Practically all the control exercised by the authorities was found to be restrictive, the measures commonly used being censorship, expulsion of editors, conscription of issues, and the creation of a spirit of fear and dependence on the part of the editors. The attention of the authors was directed to a few cases of administrative officers insisting that certain items should not be printed because of financial drives. The effect on student attitudes was obvious.

Student annuals are published by either the junior or the senior class in all the colleges studied. Each provides a yearly outlet for the abilities of between twenty and one hundred students, according to the size of the institution, in editorial, literary, artistic, comic, or managerial work. Departmental and professional magazines, published in several of the larger institutions are, without exception, produced by students and faculty together. Literary magazines are also occasionally published by departments of English.

Comics are issued in some form in all the institutions visited. In the larger colleges and universities these are sizable magazines, usually appearing monthly. The comics are produced by small groups, and it is perhaps unfair to conclude that the student body as a whole approves their contents. Some students ignore and are disgusted with them, yet where they receive wide student patronage they acquire a certain representative character, and exercise a considerable influence for good or ill. In a few instances boards of editors have such a clean sense of humor as to make the publications refreshing and creditable. In many others, however, the editors habitually drive as near the edge of indecency as they dare.

In most of the comics of the colleges studied, sex in some form was given more space than any other single interest; in several, more space than all other interests combined. In one issue, for example, of a comic in a large university, more than fifty selections referred to sex. This publication was extremely vulgar, using double meanings to make indecent suggestions. In three institutions there appeared, during the period of this inquiry, anonymous publications so indecent in character as to cause prompt suppression by the administrative authorities and severe punishment of the students found responsible. If the more salacious publications of this type were to be taken as an index of student morality as a whole the situation would indeed be alarming.

The inquirers were surprised to discover how little the departments of English were recognizing the educational values in student publications. Only when the comics or some other publications were bringing the college into disrepute did the authorities appear to give them serious attention.

DRAMATICS AND MUSICAL CLUBS

Dramatics are becoming increasingly important in the student world and their educational significance is receiving wide recognition. Dramatic Clubs, composed of men or women, or both, were found in all the institutions studied. In most cases the clubs are organized and conducted by students. In other cases they are connected with regular courses in dramatics, which are for the most part in the departments of English or Public Speaking. From 50 to 400 students, depending upon the size of the institution and the development of dramatic interest, engage in this activity during the academic year. In several institutions there are as many as four or five different dramatic clubs. In addition, plays open to the public are occasionally given by fraternities and other organizations. The number of plays given by any one of the regular clubs, varies from three or four a year to two or three each month. The type of production differs considerably. Many clubs maintain a consistently high standard, limiting their production to such plays of recognized standing as those of Shakespeare, Shaw, Barrie, and Wilde. A considerable number of the clubs write their own plays, design and make their own costumes and stage settings. One of the clubs, in a large eastern university, makes prolonged and elaborate preparation for an annual production of an exceptionally high order which it presents not only at the university, but also in several cities during the Christmas vacation. Many college clubs, however, content themselves with presenting musical comedies, vaudeville or burlesque shows. In most institutions official approval is required before student dramatic productions are presented to the public.

The more serious dramatic clubs are unusually successful in giving professional training to their most active members, some of whom were found to have become professional actors or to have gone to responsible positions as teachers of dramatics, technical directors and dramatic critics. The experimental or laboratory theatres set up in a few colleges are proving to have decided

educational values. In addition to the technical training, team work and a sense of individual responsibility are developed and artistic appreciation is quickened.

Many of the same values are present in connection with the musical clubs, which are a standardized activity in all the institutions studied, calling out wide participation and support and providing valuable artistic training.

PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS AND DEBATE

Formal debating, historically important, has suffered a decline in popular interest in recent years. Intercollegiate debates are maintained, however, by most of the institutions studied. They and their preliminary tryouts give scope to the interests of comparatively few students. They are usually related to departments of Public Speaking. The training received in a number of institutions was described by participants as being of the highest value.

The recent international debates, especially those with the Canadian and English university teams, have aroused considerable interest among students. The forum movement of recent years has, however, developed a more sustained student interest. It involves the presentation of political, economic, social and industrial questions by invited speakers, followed by open discussion.

In a few institutions the issue of free speech, especially with respect to compulsory military training, has arisen in connection with the forums. Administrative policies in relation to freedom of speech have been found to vary from strait-laced conservatism to such a liberal attitude as President Hopkins, of Dartmouth, advocated in the following utterance:

> I have seen at the gates of the steel works in Pittsburgh; I have seen back of the Baldwin Locomotive Works in Philadelphia; I have seen in the streets of Schenectady; I have seen here at Hawthorne men pour out and go down the avenue after the day's work; and on every corner I have seen the soap-box orator holding forth on the theory of this, that, or the other thing. I have seen young men of sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen and twenty years of age, as well as elders, sitting down and listening to these things and then going off into the saloons or somewhere else and discussing for hours the propositions set forth. The man outside the college is not isolated from this. On the other hand, the man inside is

> subjected to the presentation of a lot of asserted facts and a lot of reputed data which somebody has got to disprove in future times, or allow him to accept these as truth.
>
> Do you and I, we who are parents or who are alumni of Dartmouth College, desire that our sons shall go into the college and shall be by fallible men told uncertain facts in regard to changing situations, and turned out with the belief that they are possessed of final truth? Are we willing that our sons shall go out handicapped as they would be if they had never learned anything except the conventional and the orthodox doctrines which might be presented to them? Somebody says, "But is not this dangerous?" It may be, but any other policy is infinitely more dangerous!

In view of the fact that American students are still for the most part absorbed in the provincial affairs of the campus it is a hopeful sign that a few in every institution are discussing national and international subjects of importance.

SPECIAL CAMPUS-WIDE EVENTS

A comparatively recent development in student life is the tendency to group several social and athletic events together and so to feature them that they constitute a campus-wide holiday period. Into three or four days, there are often packed important athletic events, a series of dances, dramatic and musical entertainments, a carnival or fête, and any number of private or group excursions. The times and seasons of these concentrated periods vary with the different institutions. They are found most frequently, however, in connection with one of the big football games in the fall, at mid-semesters in February, at a Spring Day celebration, or at commencement.

The testimony received left no doubt in the minds of the inquirers as to the unfortunate tendencies in the way of dissipation, overexcitement and neglect of academic work that are sometimes incidental to these celebrations.

At one state university a Home-coming celebration was declared in the university daily to have been marked by carousing and indecent conduct by both alumni and students. The inquirers were told at another state university of a similar occasion. Both of these cases received a notoriety embarrassing to the serious interests of the institutions. A dean in a state university commented upon one of these occasions:

> Home-coming . . . is one of the greatest evils introduced into college life. It constitutes a tacit permission for students to prepare a week or two previous and to take a week or two afterwards to recuperate. There is a general feeling that a teacher has no right to expect work prior to and immediately following this time and the other "big games."

An assistant professor of medicine, having inside knowledge by reason of service in the student clinical department, spoke as follows:

> There may be a good deal of drinking on the campus; the fraternities have a deserved reputation for this. They have the opportunity in that they are closely grouped, socially protected, and wealthy. The alumni bring it in, and make no secret of it; one business man told me of the gay time he and some old grads had at Home-coming; seemed to think it was quite the natural thing to do, and went back home serenely with apparently no idea of the trail of evil influence he had left among the boys on the campus.

A brilliant junior student on probation for neglect of studies remarked to a counsellor who was trying to help him keep steady and avoid being dropped: "I've cut out drinking till 'Spring Day,' but then—oh, boy!"

Reactions against the excesses accompanying one such occasion were so decided that the Women's Self-Government Association of the university prepared a protest which was signed by two thousand of its members against drinking by college men. Similar excesses occurring at other institutions are mentioned in Chapter V. In striking contrast with the frivolous or demoralizing use of Home-coming and similar events, are the dramatic and educational presentations of notable features in the history and work of the college such as are being developed by a few institutions.

CAMPUS POLITICS AND ELECTIONS [3]

Elections to positions of prominence in campus activities are frequently the occasion of intense political rivalry and of dubious campaign methods. In the interviews the inquirers heard many expressions of opinion as to the undesirable characteristics of campus politics. Excerpts from the testimony give glimpses into conditions at five different institutions.

A senior student in a large coeducational university referred to the amount of politics in non-athletic elections:

[3] Campus politics is also mentioned in Chapters II and VI.

> Most of the politics is carried on by fraternity organizations, usually against the fraternity that is on top. This is done by secret organizations. No printed matter is used in the election, and the daily does not take sides. The girls are about the same as the men in politics. The fraternities are very liberal toward the co-eds.

A candidate for office in a large western university described his political problems:

> I am a candidate for the president of the Union. . . . My first two years I studied very hard and made very good grades. Then I decided to go into politics and get acquainted with the fellows. If I had the chance to give advice to a student, I would say, "Stay out of politics. It is dirty business." The Council passed a resolution prohibiting the use of any printed matter by any candidate or organization in electioneering. T. N. E., a serious political combination, is supposed to have been put out of business. But politics are going on just the same. At present the student body is divided into two parties which are called Machine and Coalition. Each side is trying to pick a winner. We are to have a chance to prepare and present platforms. There is no veto power on these platforms anywhere, unless you think of the Machine and Coalition parties as having this power.

The same situation from the women's point of view was described by a senior woman, prominent in campus organizations:

> T. N. E. is an interfraternity, organized *sub rosa.* It is rather expensive. Each initiate had a pint of liquor at his place. They try to put over special stunts. For example, they tried to drive the Y. M. from the university, but failed. Most of them are afraid to wear the pin in public.
>
> T. N. E. has not really been wiped out. There are still members, unknown as such, who will continue the vicious policies next year.
>
> A candidate for office has to petition the administrative council for the privilege of running. His platform appears in the daily. The men work for the organized girls' support and they are beginning to realize the necessity of securing the backing of the girls under the women's group system. A girl who was campaigning among the women this year conducted one of the party speakers to the different sorority houses where he presented the cause of his candidate. She ran her car all over the town, taking friends to the voting booths on election day. "There is nothing so thrilling as politics," she says, and hopes to go into politics after she has left the university. She got on junior prom committee this year and is looking forward to the senior prom committee next year. A

record is kept of each voter and his name checked when he casts a ballot. However, it is possible to vote under the name of a man who may have dropped college but whose name still appears in the list. Several men offered to do that for a man who was running for the presidency of the senior class. He refused to let them do it, saying that he wanted to feel that he had gotten office through clean politics.

A woman class officer in a large coeducational university was less condemnatory:

> There are no party lines in politics. Personal influence counts a good deal. When I ran for a class office I was called up continually by fraternities saying, "Our Fraternity is backing you." There is a feeling against machine candidates. The "spoils system" is practiced, but there is a sentiment against railroading a fraternity brother into an important office.

On the other hand, a senior student in another large university told of the following incident:

> In the junior elections this year the ballots were stuffed and the voting had to be done over. Everybody was surprised at the time because they thought that this year they were keeping politics clean. As a result they tightened up on elections.

Ward politics had little to teach the manipulators in a college for men described by a senior class president:

> There are two bitter political factions here, one composed of six national fraternities, the other of one national, three locals and independents. We had a regular riot in the election of student council this April. The independent coalition won by two votes. The politicians of each faction got together and named the candidates, and played almost every type of politics known. I voted as I was told—like all the others. The defeated faction is now contesting the election.
>
> I believe it is impossible to keep campus politics clean. We have had ballot box stuffing, besides the various factional strifes. Every fraternity wants the most campus offices possible, in order to develop its ranking on the campus.
>
> One of the demoralizing things here is the kick-back of national politics, Teapot Dome, etc., the government corruption and underhanded stuff that goes on at Washington. Men say, "Why not be crooked if we can get away with it?" The government tries to stop it but can't get back of it. The fraternities are the same way here.

Similar situations, but less serious in character, were described in three of the other institutions. No department of political science was found by the inquirers to be stressing the importance of campus politics as a training ground for future citizenship. Judging by what they heard, the authors believe that the women's colleges are comparatively free of objectionable practices.

THE ACTIVITIES SYSTEM IN RELATION TO CHARACTER

A sufficient description of the "miscellaneous activities" has been given to pave the way for a consideration of the activities as a whole which, as already pointed out, are treated not only in this chapter but also in Chapters II, IV, VI and VIII, and to some degree in Chapter V.

The chief characteristics of the system are: competition; over-organization; activities the basis of campus rating; conflict with the curriculum. These are all important factors in relation to character development.

COMPETITION

Most of the offices and honors in extra-curricular activities are won through competitive efforts. The aspirants compete for places on athletic teams; for editorships; for the managerships of major and minor sports, of publications, of musical and dramatic clubs; for debating teams; for political offices; and even for membership in many clubs and social organizations. Personal competition, indeed, becomes ingrained in the very fibre of a student's life.

A high administrative officer in a large university for men thus expressed the situation:

> There is a great competitive fierceness here in extra-curricular activities. The student is quickly caught by the octopus of competition. He soon finds that his time is no longer his own.

A junior student in a medium-sized men's college said:

> Any quantity of men go out for musical clubs. We have to turn down two-thirds of those who come out for the shows and dramatic events.

The competition for places on publications is the most highly standardized and exhibits both the good and the bad points in the

system. The competition for a weekly paper in a small college is less intense and prolonged than the competition for the larger university dailies, and is therefore presented as being, in the authors' opinion, more nearly typical. It was thus described by a junior editor:

> We discover material for this board by competition. First, editorial competition. Opportunity is thrown open for writing news and writing unassigned news. A competition manager (appointed from the senior section of the board) grades the amount of this writing by the number of inches published and its style, and gives a general examination which covers books in the library on journalism. Twenty-five came out for the competition. This was soon cut to sixteen. Eleven are now in the race. About four will be chosen. The competition manager makes a weekly report—that is, in every issue of the paper he posts the number of inches of each contestant, his marks as to style and the results of the examination. Thus the standing is constantly visible to every contestant. The contestant is also told privately concerning his errors. The contestants work very hard, for it is a great honor to be appointed. The faculty has nothing to do with this.

This excerpt reveals an interesting utilization of educational methods in a voluntary activity.

Competition is by no means limited to men with free time. The man who works his way through college frequently finds that the most effective means of doing so is to win a competition, either such as those listed above or for the management of a student rooming, boarding and laundry agency, or similar business enterprise.

The money element enters largely into certain of the competitions, notably student publications and business enterprises requiring large amounts of time. The editor of a college daily in speaking to college freshmen said:

> You all want to learn how to write and more than that there's good money going to be given out in your senior year to the men who win. Come on out and get some of this good money.

In most of the competitions the winners receive all, the losers nothing save their experience. This is ordinarily accepted as the result of superior and inferior ability. In the view of the authors, however, an ethical question arises when large money rewards go to the winners, while months of labor by the losing competitors go

wholly unrewarded, as in the case of the larger dailies. The winning editors and managers pocket the money which in an ordinary newspaper goes to pay for the work of reporting the news. The system, therefore, becomes in effect a method of getting much work done for nothing. Two cases were reported to the inquirers in which the business managers took wholly disproportionate profits in senior year. A student in a large university spoke on this point:

> Three competitions a year are held for selecting future workers on the daily. A great number try out for these positions. The yearly budget is close to $57,000, profit $21,000. Only four get any pay. The business manager makes from $9,000 to $10,000 a year. Three editors get approximately $2,000, $1,700, and $1,300 respectively.

The authors believe that the concentration of offices and distinctions in the hands of a comparatively few upperclassmen is characteristic of the activities system in most of the institutions studied. Uncontrolled competition here manifests its typical results. A few college captains of industry shake the fruit of the plum trees into their own laps. The study of college annuals will show that when there are no restrictions such as the "point system" a few seniors are overloaded with offices and memberships. Such accumulations represent the apex of the "activity hound's" ambition. At one college, for example, two students each had a list of twenty-two activity distinctions for the college course. A large percentage of such honors are ordinarily won by competition.

The inquirers found that the dangers of unrestrained competition were generally perceived by faculties and administrators, though few spoke on the subject so emphatically as the secretary of a college who kept a card index of the activities engaged in by each student, and who declared: "The most pernicious thing in student life here is the competitive system." More or less earnest endeavors to reduce the evils of the system were being made.

An administrator spoke of measures taken in a large university for men:

> We control outside activities by direct enforcement of collegiate work. Even if a man wins in a competition he cannot serve if ineligible scholastically. Accordingly, the Publications Board has tried to lighten its requirements in competition. There is no ruling as to the number of activities a man can

take in the freshman year. We are trying to get away from "the big man of the college" stuff.

A senior woman in a large coeducational university told of efforts to ensure a wider distribution of work and honors by means of a Chairman of Activities:

> This position is always held by a senior. Her duty is to find out by means of questionnaires what sport, committee, job or activity each freshman would like to indulge in and to keep a card file of her findings which is available to all women forming committees or wanting to help student activities. The main reason for the creation of this job is to get more women into non-academic interests, so that the jobs will be spread among a larger number of girls in the future. When any one gets the reputation of being "efficient" she is apt to be run to death. We try to distribute work and honor. To this end the "point system"[4] has also been revised and the different offices re-rated.

OVER-ORGANIZATION

The inquirers found that a considerable number of students and faculty members alike considered that activities were over-organized and overdone.

A student active in university dramatics complained of the pressure:

> Activities are much overdone. I don't get time enough to read, though I used to like books exceedingly. A man should choose one activity and stick to it. The pressure of winning prominence in an activity as a prerequisite for making a club is the chief reason for overdoing activities.

A crew man, a senior in a large university, said:

> One of the main troubles here is the amount of time spent on extra-curricular activities. The fellows have a warped sense of values. In many cases this is due to the training they get at the prep schools from which they come. If a freshman is going to go out for the daily he is going to spend almost all of his time on this activity alone. Of course, there are a few exceptions like ——, who can be in several different activities at once but this is very unusual.

A prominent senior in a woman's college thought there were "too many associations":

> One never has time for leisure, for talking and reading; a very pernicious state of affairs.

[4] The "point system" is described later under Constructive Suggestions.

Her remarks were confirmed by a senior woman, a campus leader, in another college:

> The campus is overorganized, a continual round of meetings—honorary, literary, social, committees for Y. W., W. A. A., W. L. T., etc. Although these all have their special value they take too much time.

Faculty members spoke to similar effect:

> Students emphasize extra-curricular activities too much; for example, the daily, athletics, dramatics, take a great deal of time and many work to gain places on them.
>
> I would do away with all social organizations. All our American campuses are overorganized.

Only occasionally did the inquirers hear a dissenting voice. A senior student in a large coeducational university said:

> It isn't true that the extra-curricular activities here take too much time. Of course, it is a fact that the daily, if a fellow is going to make it, takes a lot of time. It is different from our other papers for which one can write without spending too much time.

A senior woman student, a member of an honorary society and of various committees, referred to activities crowding each other to the wall, always lasting long enough, however, for the officers to be elected so that proper ratings might be recorded.

ACTIVITIES THE BASIS OF CAMPUS RATING

The competitions already described are largely motivated by a rating system. This not only prods individual students but stirs up competition for distinction between organized groups. A fraternity seeks for status on the campus and usually receives it in accordance with the number of activity distinctions gained by its members. Group pressure persistently brought to bear upon the younger members intensifies the competitive struggle.

In the institutions studied the inquirers observed that wherever there were fraternities or clubs their members were credited with holding the lion's share of the major offices on the campus. A fraternity leader explained the attitude of his house and added some frank admissions regarding scholarship, which the authors believe fairly represent student opinion:

> Anything that makes us better known on the campus is an activity. If distinction in scholarship brought honor to our

house in the eyes of the college we would call it an activity and go after it. We would rather have an athletic letter man any day than a Phi Beta Kappa. It means more honor to our house.

The strength of the desire to win prestige for the group was further illustrated in the following excerpts:

> The fraternity men get the real positions in campus athletics. Fraternities prod men to go out. In fact, you can't do anything on this campus unless you wear a badge.

> If an independent wins out in a competition he is very likely to be pledged right away. (A faculty member in a large university.)

> Most students carry out these activities in order to get rating for their clubs. They place too much value upon them. I think one should do them for their own pleasure. (A professor in a men's college.)

> There is altogether too much forcing the boys into activities. Alumni, the football coaches, the leaders of the Christian Association, all say to the freshman when he comes, "You must get into this or that activity to be known as a real man." Not once do they mention scholarship as an important element. They are told they lack courage and spirit if they do not engage in some activity. (A faculty member in an eastern university.)

The father of the valedictorian of a senior class in a large eastern university gave an illustration of the sharp distinction between curricular and activity success:

> My boy is graduating at the top of his class. He has stuck to the business of education and gained almost the highest grade ever received in the university. His work has been much appreciated by his professors but he has not been made a member of a single committee or given any part in the class-day program. He feels this very keenly and graduates with the conviction that his college course has not been successful.

When a senior student was asked, "What urges men on in competitions?" he answered as follows, and the order seems to the authors significant:

> First, campus prestige. The mere winning brings Junior honors and election to the Senior Society, the biggest honor on the campus. Junior and Senior honors always go to the men who have won out in campus activities. Second, later on the value of the training which one gets is apt to seem

> greater. For example, I have a friend, a remarkable fellow. He is sufficiently good as a student to get Phi Beta Kappa, yet he claims to have gotten more from his managerships than from his courses. I feel that my managerships have meant as much to me as any course.

The top jobs in activities are usually the major sports captaincies, the editorship-in-chief of the leading publication, the chairmanship of student government and of the honors system. Both personal and group ambitions for campus distinctions combine to produce an honors pyramid, the peak of which is reached by membership in a senior society, which in turn usually signifies leadership in at least one activity. A senior who was manager of athletics in a large university declared that "election to the honor societies gives a man the highest rating of anything."

CONFLICT WITH THE CURRICULAR SYSTEM

Whatever theories of education underlie the curricular system, it is apparent that it has a vigorous competitor in the extra-curricular activities. In the gypsy bands of activities hovering around the orderly gentility of the present curriculum the authors find implicit a sweeping, even though perhaps inarticulate, criticism of it by the students. By their actions, at least, they are protesting vigorously to their elders, "You are making us get at least half our education for ourselves, and then you generally refuse to recognize that half at all." If one could have the sentiments of that large number of men who have had to drop out of college because of excessive zeal in activities, the issue would probably be all the more sharply drawn. The activity "bustee" as well as many students now rated "low-grade" scholastically might make their case against the present system in the terms of the equation: activity success = curricular failure. The authors believe that it is not putting the case too strongly to say that in the present situation many a student of active interests and dominating personality finds himself "busted" out of an institution that puts the stamp of its official approval primarily upon passive receptivity, listening to lectures, and returning to the professor that which he has handed out. For many the curricular system proves as much of a hindrance as a help to their development. To some of them it seems like being forced to listen to old records on a phonograph when they might be playing in the orchestra. The net result of the conflict between the two systems is to confront many students with a

vexing dilemma. Only the student of unusual ability can get "A's" in academic work and at the same time achieve distinction in activities. The result is that the average student is tempted to go toward one or the other extreme. Those who hold an extreme "activities first" view find the curriculum actually penal in its operation, and likely to bring down upon their heads at any moment the death sentence of expulsion from college life. Those who hold the extreme curricular view, on the other hand, frequently find that they do not "rate" on the campus.

The dilemma was suggested in the following testimony by a dean in a large coeducational university:

> A boy entered here and made eleven grade points in the autumn. I noticed his name before the students in a prominent way several times. He was soon in many activities. In the winter quarter he slumped to five. The explanation, no doubt, is too much student activities.

A sophomore who won his competition and was "busted" out of college stated his case thus:

> The faculty are too mechanical in judging students. They don't make enough allowance for outside activities. I was plucked last year because I spent too much time on journalistic competitions and didn't keep up in my studies, but I was not indifferent to them and was very ambitious to go on with my class. For this reason I am somewhat biased but it is not in my case only; many others feel the same way. Men of fine ability have been dismissed or put back a year because the faculty did not allow sufficiently for the intellectual and general value of activities.

A junior student in a large university said:

> There is no correlation between journalistic competition and class work. Only in senior year is there a course in journalism.

The extreme activities view was the butt of a spirited editorial in the *Daily Maroon* (Chicago) for November 19, 1925:

> Five varsity football players, declared scholastically ineligible, have been forced to drop from the squad. Horrors! Horrors! Can it be possible that some of the professors at the University are forgetting our financial campaign? Of what use will it be to us to have a new hall of languages, or science department, or geology researches, if we can't have a football team? That's what makes a university out of a college.

> Education is good, but to have it stand in the way of our team!
>
> This new view is readily proven in the advertisement, now running in the *Daily Maroon,* of the book *How to Study.* It will be noticed that the copy writer therein addressed the student body in general as Freshmen, Sophomores, Juniors, Seniors, Athletes.

Let a distinguished professor in a coeducational university explain why activities are so attractive, and the curriculum so unattractive to the undergraduate:

> Far too much of our university instruction is given in the form of lectures, and this seems especially deplorable when we think of how few of the lecturers have such a mastery of their subject as would enable them to fill chairs in European universities. There is too little self-activity on the part of the student, who does not like to be passive (though he is not unwilling to be entertained) and naturally turns to student activities, to football, to the glee club, to the editorial desk of the college paper, in order to find something to do that he deems worthy of a man with backbone.

THE PROS AND CONS

VALUES IN ACTIVITIES

Granted the controversial aspects of the question, the authors yet believe it to be undeniable that out of extra-curricular activities come certain by-products of the highest educational value. Among these are self-expression, sense of responsibility, ability to cope with new situations and act with promptness and decision—in a word, expansion of personality, at points which are apt to be but slightly affected by curricular work. At every college visited students spoke enthusiastically of the training and satisfaction they had derived from their work on various activities, and this view was endorsed by several administrators and faculty members. "Men really work in activities," was an expression that the inquirers heard more than once, and to the truth of which they can testify. The following quotations are selected from a large number in similar vein.

The president of a senior class declared:

> I have gotten more out of certain activities than out of my studies. I was chairman of the drive to raise $50,000 from the student body in the endowment campaign. This was the greatest activity of my college days.

An athletic manager and editor of publications said:

> Outside activities mean much in the student's development. I am getting more development from my editorship than from any single course I have taken. I am also a manager of basketball. I receive no pay for either, but the experience has been splendid.

A junior woman, prominent in debating and dramatics, showed how curricular processes may dovetail with extra-curricular and give a sense of vitality and worth to it all.

> I have done much work in the debating class and in dramatics. Debating has meant everything to me; has helped me to find myself; has increased my knowledge of international questions. Dramatics have given me an appreciation of literature and helped me analyze the character of others and know my own powers; have given me sympathy, shown me the strength of moral law, developed my imagination and proved a profitable way of spending leisure time. In the debating class the girls have worked with the men in making briefs and working up arguments; then we have separated into our own sections and built up cases on both sides till each has formed a decided opinion.

A senior man student, who combines debating with membership in the track team, declared enthusiastically that he would not give up debating "for anything in college."

> My experience in debating has been wonderful. It taught me to think. It enables me to interview a professor on my subject in his own house. These interviews are an education in themselves. Stress is being laid in debating on individual ability, all-round convincingness, humor, persuasiveness and logic. We work to get our ideas across to the audience. Not enough men are interested in debating on the campus. Too much mere fun and irresponsible life.

A junior student also emphasized the educational values of debating:

> Men who can think and speak make the best fraternity men. Debating is a real activity here. It gives splendid training in speaking and thinking. Our debaters are clear-minded and say things clearly. Debating is one of the best things here educationally.

Widened information and contacts were attested by a student editor in a men's university:

> Journalism is very broadening. It gives men contact with faculty members, publicists and students. It is quite possible to do it and keep up in study, though the competition is grilling. It is not coördinated with curriculum work, as it might be. Most members of the publications boards in the past have maintained good scholarship. Our journalistic society is devoted to international and political problems. It brings in the best available speakers at six swell dinners every year.

A college president dwelt on the values of self-government:

> I heartily believe in student government as an education in democracy. I think it is fine training in responsibility, in sensing the obligation to pick out good officers and assume the obligation of self-government. I have often been struck by the wisdom of the elections, and find the students surprisingly just and balanced in their judgment.

A professor of English and dramatics showed how the "characteristically irresponsible undergraduate" may become responsible:

> One underclass girl taking a part in "Quality Street" had no lines and was so lax, it was difficult to get her out to rehearsals. By the time she had come to her senior year and was playing Elga in Pygmalion, she had developed so much responsibility that she was never late five minutes. In addition, a physical fault of which she had always been conscious and which proved a real handicap in the way of an awkward gait, had been entirely corrected. A freshman girl so irresponsible and erratic that it almost seemed wise to send her home, became interested and grew. She was to play the leading part in "The Importance of Being Earnest," and she felt so much depended upon her that she actually came to the final rehearsal and played with her chest strapped up for pleurisy. She went from college to take a fine teaching position in dramatics. It has become a tradition of the club to be responsible.

An instructor in dramatics at a university for men declared:

> Just now we are constantly broadening the experience the student gets. Hitherto professionals supplied the costumes, scenery, etc. Now our art students do the designing and printing, and the translating or writing of the play is done entirely by college men. Our purpose, however, is not to educate actors and scene painters, but to educate an audience for real drama, to go back to their communities with well-developed artistic appreciation.

The cameraderie of interest-groups and the discipline of team play were points that received special emphasis in the comments on voluntary activities. Almost always at the core of a successful activity is a little group of deeply interested leaders, who learn, perhaps for the first time, how to work for a result in which no individual can win without the others winning also.

The editors of two college dailies testified as follows:

> The daily has been a great influence in my college life. It taught me how to work with other people, and to work with persistency. It is about the hardest activity I know.

> The value of trying for the daily is inestimable. A man learns to know everyone who is doing things on the campus, and whatever of interest is going on. It also develops executive ability, and experience as an editor teaches you how to get men to work with you.

The captain of a soccer team, a staff member of a college publication, said:

> To win any managership requires time and ability to work with others. One who can acquire these wins not only the managership but confidence in himself. The fellows work like slaves to get these positions. Of course fraternity membership helps, but hard work is more important. I think of college as a training ground and the fellow who is only a student is a poor chap. All-round training of character and personality is the big thing.

A professor and coach of dramatics in a large university for men showed how the best powers of both teacher and student are drawn out in coöperative endeavor:

> To me religion and beauty are synonymous terms. I see in this dramatic work many boys trying to make something beautiful; but even though they often fail to realize their highest ideal, I see as they work the light of enthusiasm in their eyes. That is of great moral value. In this work also there is the same sinking of the individual in the service of a group that is essential in an athletic team. It means very little personal recognition. The student here works to do his best to make an organization more effective. The spirit is thoroughly sacrificial. Each one is ever struggling to make the organization better. In painting a scene, for example, a boy forgets all about himself and puts his best self into a definite service for the college. They also learn to rely upon themselves, for all that they get from me is direction.

Another professor and coach of dramatics in a large coeducational university illustrated the contribution of an activity to personal development, tolerance and team work:

> The Dramatic Club sets a high standard of dramatic effort. It always aims for team work and doing one's best no matter how small the part may be. It often happens that a girl who has a leading part one year will take a very small part the next year and put the same high spirit into it. One girl with a harsh voice followed advice and eventually developed a beautiful voice.
>
> There are no racial lines in the club. A young Jewess, having worked hard for the good of the club, was elected president, a Gentile girl, who might have had the honor, insisting that of right it belonged to the Jewess. The election was made unanimous and she became one of the most beloved of presidents, tactful, strong, industrious. She is this year working as director of a Jewish settlement in a large city. The racial question has not been quite so well met until last year when three or four Jews were taken in.
>
> One effect of the work on the students is indicated by one man who said, "It is the biggest experience I have had at the university, worth all the rest put together."
>
> The right atmosphere at rehearsals means very much. The work is so hard, and demands such close attention that there is little time for consideration of any lower interests. Dramatic organization properly handled affords great opportunity for social contacts and for the fine influence of each one doing his best.

The authors know that the experience of the dramatic coaches just quoted is paralleled by that of men and women in charge of athletic and religious activities. They find themselves at the center of lively interest groups with unique opportunities to foster friendships and coöperation between students and teachers as well as among students themselves. It is worth remarking also that in some of the institutions tribute was paid by students to certain professors, notably in forestry and architecture, who managed to permeate curricular work with a spirit of team play comparable to that found in voluntary activities.

Unusual opportunities to develop moral courage and leadership are offered by certain campus activities. In this respect journalism and athletics are probably equally eminent, but the testimonies on athletics will be reserved for the next chapter. The excerpts that follow all refer to journalism.

An editorial writer on the daily in a large state university took considerable risk in fighting a major evil.

> There is considerable censorship from the faculty, so the paper cannot easily take a radical stand on matters affecting the university. At Home-coming, however, the paper had courage to print a strong editorial on the amount of drinking by students and alumni alike and the university heard from all over the state in response to it, and much good was accomplished.

The principles espoused by the daily in a large coeducational university were described as follows:

> The daily is the medium for the expression of student opinion. It is absolutely under student control; it is not even censored by the faculty, which has sometimes been criticized in its columns. Faculty members have often answered sympathetically and with understanding. Last year the daily helped to form student opinion on the change in voting for the undergraduate student council. It also took a very definite stand for the dean of men, and has helped to spread the feeling of approval for him and his work. It also took a definite position against drinking on the campus.

A student editor, who had the courage of his convictions, was later made publicity secretary of a medium-sized coeducational institution. He said:

> The weekly of which I have been editor, and the comic, and the freshman handbook, all of which I have edited, are the chief publications. In my editorials in the weekly I went after the profs. and the administration. We have taken a crack at pretty much everything here. I set up a series of questions with regard to the university and hammered away at them in my editorials. I stirred things up a good deal. For instance, I asked: "Is a prof. justified if he fails more than 50 per cent. in his courses?" Some of our profs. had been doing that. It made a tempest in a teapot but has had a decided influence on public opinion. I was called over the carpet a couple of times, but have been vindicated.

The assertion is often made by students that they get better training for later life from the activities than from the curriculum and are willing to pay for it, if need be, in curricular penalties. This assertion received considerable verification from facts brought to the attention of the inquirers. For instance, of the men and women who had served on the staff of the daily at one large university during the two years preceding this inquiry several had

become reporters on metropolitan daily newspapers, and others held the following positions: associated press correspondent, university publicity writer, special writer on a New York daily, editorial writer on a Chicago daily, literary critic, proprietor of a press service, publicity man for an advertising agency, newspaper rewrite man, prominent magazine writer.

The values of vocational training in dramatics as against those of the curriculum were illustrated in the following remarks of a dramatic coach:

> In the minds of a minority of the faculty there is still a feeling that certain men spend excessive time on the dramatic work. Undoubtedly some men do get so absorbed that they devote too much time to it. It is almost impossible to correct this evil, if it is an evil. I recall, as a typical case, that of a young man who came here two years ago. Suddenly, as a freshman, he discovered that he was absorbingly interested in stage direction. He won in a competition and was also recognized by the Theatre Guild in New York. He devoted two years to stage direction. As a result he was dropped from college. Now he is technical director in a successful experimental theater in New York and holds other important positions. Instead of feeling that he has failed he declares: "—— gave me my chance." It is a question of whether this is really a lamentable case.
>
> A few have dropped out for a year because of their dramatic work. All are agreed that this experience is the best thing in the world and they are ready to pay the penalty.

A senior on the Student Government Committee, who was a fraternity and honorary society member and a member of the football team in a medium-sized college for men, makes one feel his personality. Wherein did the curriculum fail to "get" him?

> I have gotten most from my outside activities, probably because I put more into them. I came here intending to go into business and a man going into business gets very little practical value from his courses. I took outside activities because of their direct value to me. I considered athletics one of the strongest helps, as well as other college activities, like the presidency of the class, positions in fraternity, and so forth. High marks have never been my aim—but all-aroundness.

DANGERS IN ACTIVITIES

Over against the undeniable values to be found in extra-curricular activities as now conducted must be set certain dangers, of

which the excessive demand on time is the most commonly recognized. This has been mentioned in testimony already quoted, especially in connection with overorganization and conflict with the curriculum. It may be pointed out, however, that more is involved than mere employment of excessive amounts of time on activities and the consequent diversion from studies. Trivial activities are often chosen, without reference to any vital interest of the participant, merely because of their popularity or by reason of crowd pressure. Leisure time is thus employed without reference to either educational or recreative values, and the student is thus prepared, in his college days, to swell the host of "activity hounds"—already overlarge in American life—who, never having learned the value of thought or of intellectual and æsthetic pleasure, crave only for incessant action.

A danger less commonly recognized, but nevertheless serious in its possible effects in character, is the glorification of the competitive spirit. This danger will be referred to again in connection with the "win at any cost" spirit in athletics. Here it is sufficient to quote in illustration the remark of an alumnus of one of the larger eastern universities now in business but active in social service:

> I consider that the unmitigated competitions in student life, much the same in my day as now, are real breeders of ruthless competition and anti-social individualism in the business world today. I cannot help noticing it among my classmates in business. I find a very different spirit in modern social work. Coöperation takes the place of competition.

Similarly, the excessive importance often attached to the winning of "points" through activities is accompanied by a tendency to overrate the aggressive, social type and to underrate the retiring, studious type. Men and women are apt to be superficially and cruelly misjudged, although it may well be that more lasting hurt is inflicted on those who are overrated than on those who are underrated.

An alumnus spoke to this point twenty-five years after graduation:

> One of the most interesting phases of my twenty-fifth reunion was to observe the way in which the old campus ratings have been reversed yet tend to reappear on such occasions. If one were to view our class objectively he would find that many of the men now recognized as the ablest and

> most influential in their professions and communities had a low campus rating in college days. Many of those then judged to be the "big men" of the campus, have shriveled at the hands of life into the mediocre men they really were. There was everywhere generous recognition of success as we met together, but it was interesting indeed to see the old attitudes which accompanied the old ratings reassert themselves. One realized that in this particular fellowship many men now standing at the top felt the consciousness of early privation, awkwardness or limitation long since forgotten in other company. I think I appreciate more clearly than before the injustice of the superficial ratings of the campus. A little more accuracy and independence of judgment would quickly revise many campus estimates of ability and worth.

To the authors it seems that one of the most serious dangers inherent in undergraduate activities lies in the financial transactions of their managers and executives. Young men and women, unaccustomed to business procedure and the handling of large sums of money, are exposed to grave danger of irregularities, even though these may be wholly unintentional. Students of honest intentions sometimes get badly involved, and occasionally activities are purposely used for graft or exploitation. The inquirers found a surprising absence of official auditing or other safeguards in certain institutions—a lack of precaution which, in their opinion, aggravates the dangers and makes the authorities partially responsible for the abuses.

The testimonies that follow reveal some of the more serious cases encountered.

A senior student, active on various class committees, in several of which he was the only non-fraternity man, related with illuminating detail his contact with petty grafting at a large university:

> The freshman banquet, the sophomore smoker, and the junior smoker all called for the purchase of cigarettes. The student committees bought greater quantities of cigarettes than were needed and distributed the surplus by the carton to the individual committee men. Where cigarettes were not involved this practice existed: In the case of the senior class-day committee, which had charge of ordering and distributing the class-day programs and invitations, and the senior costume, the committeemen helped themselves to about three times the number of programs and invitations, which were sold to others. The framing of the shingles awarded by the student council as recognition of service on a class committee was arranged for by the chairman, and paid for out of the

funds collected for programs and invitations. The committeemen complimented the chairman for his efficiency when he delivered the shingles already framed. Remarks were passed that he acquired and managed to buy himself a car out of the surplus from that class function.

The members of the class-day committee obtained the senior costume free of charge. That this was not an unusual practice was evident from the fact that the salesman, who was the son of a member of the city's Board of Education, and also a highly respected business man, made this brazen offer when he was asking the committee to award the order to his firm:

"If we get this order, we will see to it that the committee is treated right. We always treat committees right."

The salesman secured the order, the committee *was* "treated right," and the class suffered more than the class of the previous year. The firm which had a hand in this graft had its head reëlected to the Board of Education. I was very much interested to see that both the major parties agreed upon him as a candidate and placed no one in the field to run against him.

There was a further proposal that the class-day committee should exempt the senior ball committee from the tax for the programs and invitations, and in return receive free tickets for the senior ball.

To prevent such wholesale graft, I believe the president of the university ought to appoint the chairmen of all committees, for the chairman has it within his power to control or give free rein to this evil.

A junior student, prominent in activities at a large coeducational university, gave these inside facts:

Yes, there is a good deal of graft on our campus and some of it is in the contract for printing prom tickets. There were a good many duplicates floating around at the last one. In the case of the publication, the editor and the business manager split the proceeds. The publications are run for personal profit. One editor pulled in $3,000 last year. There is no faculty provision for control except the auditor who looks over the accounts.

A temptation such as comes to editors and managers was described in dramatic terms by the editor of a college annual:

The character of some of the graft is illustrated by this event: We advertised for bids for the cuts. A local man appeared and made a proposition to me and to the business manager. He then called our attention to the fact that his price to us would be about $2,500 less than the other bids, but said that the bill could be made out for any amount we decided

> upon. I delayed the decision for some time and finally decided on an out-of-town firm. The business manager objected to this, contending that the local man would actually do the job for $2,500 less. When I reminded him of the full conversation, he threw up his hands and said, "Good night!"

A class officer in an endowed university exposed the operations of a grafting ring which infected an entire institution:

> There is a lot of dirty business in this university. I lived near the former president of the senior class and have the inside story of the stuff he and his gang put over. Three men were really responsible for the crooked campaigns of last year. These three planned to exploit several positions. One was editor of the daily, another president of the senior class, and the other the president of the student council. They grafted on the contract for commencement programs and also exploited one of the publications. They double-crossed the dean in the selling of the class book. They inaugurated a new college ring, selling at $16 and received a big rake-off on it. A jewelry concern used them to introduce this ring, hoping, I presume, to reap the harvest in coming years. Campus affairs have been crooked through and through under the leadership of these three men. They are sure to be crooked politicians and grafters when they leave college.

As the foregoing excerpt illustrates, such positions as the editorship of a daily, a senior presidency, the chairmanship of the student council, the athletic managerships and captaincies, all give their holders exceptional power in undergraduate affairs. Students who prostitute them to ulterior ends may lower the morale of a whole campus.

CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS

Various suggested or attempted solutions of the problem presented by the conflict between curriculum and extra-curricular activities were brought to the attention of the authors in the course of this inquiry. Not all of them were as drastic or original as the plan put forth in a university daily, which suggested "that the curriculum should be made an activity as a method of getting the students to give serious attention to it," and added the argument that "if the curricular work gave status students would choose it despite its unreality and passivity." There were, however, a few advocates of such drastic action as the total exclusion of activities.

A university official declared:

> I believe that the ideal would be attained if we should rule out competitive athletics entirely. The greatest need here is to get rid of outside activities and extra-curricular work. To do this would change all college life. Students would show their abilities in scholarship. We are terribly pushed for time.

An administrative officer in a college for women had this suggestion:

> The college year should begin October 1 and run till May 1, during which period all time should be devoted to academic work, and dramatics, dances, etc., should be ruled out and students made to realize that they cannot do everything at once.

The University of Chicago appointed a committee to restrict within reasonable bounds the extra-curricular activities of individual students. Middlebury College kept a record of the activities engaged in by each student and attempted to stimulate or check him as he might appear to require.

Others believed that the difficulty would yield to administrative or personal adjustments.

A dean in a university for men counselled moderation:

> We try to give our men strong advice against overdoing student activities. This problem can be handled if it is done in a good spirit. —— and others are getting an esprit de corps among coaches from an educational point of view.

A senior in a university for men said:

> If I could do my college over I would want to work harder on curricular subjects and aim for Phi Beta Kappa, though I would at the same time emphasize all-around development, including at least one major activity. Service on senior council is very valuable. Activities are valuable to develop leadership and ease in working with people, but studies are more fundamental. The solution is to maintain a balance between the two. So many things make it hard to study, and emphasis is not laid on studies first. One should make up his mind to concentrate on a few activities.

The Point System is thought to be one of the best means of mitigating the evils of extra-curricular activity. It is found chiefly in colleges for women and among women in coeducational institutions. Each activity or office is rated at so many points and a rating sheet is printed. The object of such a schedule is to keep

individuals from carrying too many activity duties, to increase the number of women who "receive the valuable training in organization work and executive ability" and to get better work done by ensuring each person sufficient time to do the work required. A weighing is given to every outside activity on the campus, so that one knows beforehand the prominence or "status" the activity carries with it.

The whole system is clearly set forth in the following extracts from the rules drafted by the Women's Self-government Association of the University of Kansas:

> Object:
>
> (1) To relieve a few overburdened women who, because they have proved themselves capable, become the logical recipients of more duties than they can fulfill without injury to their health and scholarship.
>
> (2) To insure more undivided attention and consequently more efficient performance of the several duties.
>
> (3) To increase the number of women who receive the invaluable training in organization work and executive ability.

Then follows a rating scale for major offices in all activities under thirteen headings as follows, with the largest point office under each.

> Rating schedule:
>
> A senior is allowed 60 points, a junior 40, a sophomore 30, and a freshman 20.
>
> The point rating of various positions is as follows:

1.	Women's Government Association: President	60
2.	House President's Council: President	10
3.	Y. W. C. A.: President	40
4.	Women's Forum: President	20
5.	Women's Athletic Association: President	40
6.	Class Officers: Senior President	30
7.	School Officers: President	15
8.	Departmental Clubs: President	15
9.	Professional Fraternities: President	15
10.	Publications: Kansan Board	10
	Jayhawker Staff	10
11.	Pan-Hellenic: President	15
	Secretary-Treasurer	10
12.	Other Organizations: Varsity "A" President	15
13.	Athletics: Class team	5

As the development of the point system by women suggests, the women students seem to the inquirers to be more keen than the

men to use activities as means of cultural development. Men tend to go in for activities to get prestige and training for later business connections. Women seem to think more of social versatility and all-round development. Hence they, more than men, try to get as many persons into activities as possible, to pull out the recluse and hold in check the over-active.

Remedial efforts are also being made by administrators. In several colleges committees have been appointed to deal with the problem, composed sometimes of faculty and student members, sometimes of faculty members or students alone. They are such as the following: Athletic eligibility and advisory boards, fraternity councils, publishing boards, committees on financial oversight, councils charged with the control of activities. It is interesting that most of these committees were first appointed by the administration to keep some growing activity in bounds. Accordingly, they began with restrictive measures, which have often been shifted into positive advice and coöperation—a few into conscious utilization of an activity for educational ends.

An administrative officer in a men's university told of such a change:

> There is a faculty committee on extra-curricular activities for the purpose of curbing and keeping them in bounds. Some of the activities are frightful time-consumers. Sometimes they broaden the students greatly. Others are very harmful. Many times the boys go into them because of the prestige. They come to use so much time that it ruins their studies. We place students who fail in their work on probation; that is, they are debarred from all activities until their work is of such a grade as merits privileges.
>
> There is now a movement in the college to utilize these activities in an educational way. Business houses make young men apprentices in the banks, but we do not yet use the activities as a part of the curriculum.

The chairman of a committee on correlation referred to the difficulties met with in protecting the time of competitors:

> The educational process involves much besides books and curricular courses. All activities well done have educational values but we have not thought hard enough on how to coordinate activities and courses. I am chairman of the committee appointed by the president to study the relation between curricular and extra-curricular activities. This is an elaborate factual study. . . .
>
> We have tried every known means to conserve the candi-

dates' time, but in vain. Every competitor will use every minute of his time. The competitions are limited to ten weeks. A candidate or editor is excused without loss of credit from scholastic work, other than making up work due to low scholarship.

Certain administrations hold a brief for extra-curricular activities and attempt to treat them so that they may contribute more effectively to the all-round development of the student. Middlebury College, for example, has adopted the policy of giving grade points for participation in extra-curricular activities and of requiring a certain number of such points for graduation. Various student groups, especially in women's colleges, have kept such records of activity points and have graded students accordingly. There is an increasing concern among administrative officers over the present impasse and not a few are looking to some form of coördination as a solution.

That the customary competitive relation between the curriculum and the voluntary activities is considered a failure by many students but that it is easier to frame a general indictment than to suggest concrete reforms, was strikingly brought out in an editorial in *The Dartmouth* which is quoted at length:

> The fault lies—and here it seems to us is the heart of the matter—not with the faculty or with the undergraduate but with the system. Consider this ghastly and abortive system, this educational merry-go-round which makes operator and rider alike dizzy and ugly. Consider its hard-and-fast, cut-and-dried classes and lectures, its insistence that one attend a Math. class at ten o'clock every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, and that one hour later on the same days one turn off the flow of mathematical thought to turn on another flow of philosophical thought for an hour. Consider the régime which turns out pedantic dunces where the honors of the community life go not to the most scholarly but to the victor in athletics or extra-curricular activities.
>
> And the flaw in the system is that it ignores the undergraduate's ego. Youth is concerned with itself, with its ambitions and its desires. And youth is adventurous. But where is there a place for ego or adventure in the curriculum? Instead there is an iron-clad system of class attendance which pays not the slightest attention to the humanity of the student, which treats life entirely as academic phenomena, which turns the student into a machine, and which inevitably defeats its own ends. No wonder the vigorous student takes to extra-curricular activities. Youth will have adventure, and youth

will have scope for its ambitions. Until educators realize that they are completely ignoring these fundamental undergraduate instincts, just so long will they complain that the spirit of undergraduate education is noxious and unworthy of its high calling.

And how to change the spirit? By developing a system which will provide for the undergraduate's ego and his urge for adventure. That means nothing more or less than putting an undergraduate's education squarely upon his own shoulders. It means an end of coddling and nursing; it means an active education which by its very nature will be adventurous and which will tie itself up to the undergraduate's own life. Instead of ladling out facts to the student, we've got to make him get them for himself. Facts are important, of course. Anyone is a fool to think otherwise; but quite as important as the facts is the way in which they are gathered, and the use made of them when they are gathered. If they are simply shoveled out for note-taking and for future regurgitation at quiz or examination, they amount to little; but if the student goes out and finds them for himself; and moreover, if he sees the importance of his search, then his education means something to him. It's merely curricular activity instead of curricular passivity and indifference.

If any faculty member reading this feels inclined to observe that there is plenty of room for just such activity under the present scheme of things, we must point out to him that by activity we do not mean drill but a course of action which the student understands and the significance of which he appreciates. . . .

All this means that faculty member and undergraduate are to reverse their positions. The undergraduate in search of his own education will quiz the faculty when he needs help, and the faculty member will make it his chief job to be able to answer such quizzes concisely and intelligently. There will have to be checks on the undergraduate, of course; but it doesn't follow that these checks need be three classroom exercises a week in every course, exercises which take the heart out of the day and which usually bore him so thoroughly that he has no zest left for work of his own.

The Dartmouth has no system to suggest. That can be worked out later. What is important now is an understanding of the three points made above:

1. That the blame for the present unsatisfactory state of affairs lies neither with the faculty nor with the undergraduates but with the system.

2. That college education must tie itself up with the student's problems, with his sense of reality.

3. That the way to accomplish that is to make the student

responsible for his own education, with the faculty standing by to lend a helping hand.

In conclusion the authors would suggest for consideration three fundamental principles. The first is the full recognition by the authorities themselves of the educational values in activities. However important a part the student may play in working out the adjustments, ultimate responsibility lies at the doors of teaching and administrative officers. The chairman of a committee on correlation may be considered the spokesman for many administrators in the institutions visited, when he said, "All activities well done have educational values, but we have not thought hard enough on how to coördinate activities and courses." Administrators and teachers might well treat the whole world of undergraduate spontaneous activities as a superb laboratory in which faculty and students in hearty coöperation could carry on studies and experiments in social psychology, political science, and educational methods.

Instances of the ways in which intellectual and æsthetic activities have won educational recognition and credit have been cited in previous pages, notably in dramatics, debating, public speaking, the newspapers and literary magazines. Further suggestions will be found in the chapters upon Athletics, Student Government and Honor Systems, and Religious Agencies. All of these have been found in varying degrees to lend themselves to inclusion within a generously conceived educational program. But the time seems ripe for more determined efforts toward the combination of the two systems.

Obviously no easy granting of credits to haphazard outside activities will provide the solution. It would appear, however, that the methods and approach of the curriculum could be progressively changed until the present subject-centered basis had given way to the interest-centered basis which characterizes the activities system. In response to such changes, not only would valuable activities be interwoven with a vitalized curriculum but activities of dubious value would disappear.

The second principle, that of faculty-student coöperation, is perhaps the most feasible means of realizing the first principle. Wherever in this inquiry students and faculty were found facing their common problems together with frankness, patience, and mutual confidence, definite indications of progress were visible. This was notably true in a large coeducational university where,

under the inspiration of a gifted dean, a series of joint committees were grappling with the major problems of university life, learning each other's points of view, working out programs of joint action, and putting their programs into effect with the approval and coöperation of faculty and students alike. The first requisite in such joint endeavor is for both students and teachers to accept without reserve the idea that student interest, experience and creative activity are an indispensable part of a worthy educational process.

The third principle is that the administration and faculty should make available to all students counsel and guidance on their extra-curricular activities. At present faculty counsellors give valuable aid on the selection of courses of study, but they quite ignore the selection of "activities," leaving that to fraternity pressure or the persuasions of coaches and team captains or the whims of the freshman himself. When, during his undergraduate career, could he profit more from disinterested, experienced advice? This service would naturally be a part of the enlarged and coördinated personnel service which is more fully discussed in Chapters VIII and X.

Chapter IV

ATHLETICS AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Critics of American higher education, particularly those from abroad, have humorously asked if an American college course did not consist of athletics, with a modicum of studies as a diversion. Nor is this gibe unfounded. For not only the general public, but the mass of undergraduates and alumni and a goodly number of secondary school boys and girls find intercollegiate games the most absorbing events of the year. The table given in the footnote on page 91 shows the preponderant amount of space that college newspapers devote to athletics. Talk about them fairly gushes from students. This intensity of interest has been matched by the money spent in developing winning teams and in erecting huge football stadia. The football gate receipts range from tens of thousands to a million dollars for a single season. It is not strange that intercollegiate athletics, particularly football, should have been the subject of heated attack and defense.

Educators ever since Froebel have recognized in play a potent educational ally. In collegiate education it happens that play has been allowed, until lately, to go its own sweet way, and when it developed excesses, the first impulse of the elders was to penalize the players by restrictions, rather than to annex play to the realm of education more broadly conceived.

Psychologists agree with Froebel that any activity that evokes such zestful effort as athletic sports must have profound effects on the habits and attitudes determining character. It is therefore fitting, in this study of character-forming influences in the colleges, that the whole range of physical activities should be reviewed and appraised. In addition to the testimony and other data procured by the inquirers, liberal use is made in this chapter of the reports of the National Collegiate Athletic Association and of the chapter on "Intercollegiate Football" in the Report by Committee G of the American Association of University Professors.

SCOPE OF PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES

There are five main kinds of physical activities in the colleges, namely intercollegiate athletics, intra-mural sports, physical edu-

cation courses, provisions for health and hygiene, military training. These five will be briefly described and then certain contrasts between women's and men's physical activities will be pointed out.

INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS

The term intercollegiate athletics is applied to all the forms of sport in which there are competitions among representatives of various colleges. Such competitions may be broadly divided into games and track meets. The sports are divided into major and minor sports, the allocation differing slightly in different institutions. The sports universally called major are football, baseball, basketball, crew and track. Soccer is occasionally included. The minor sports generally include soccer, lacrosse, tennis, wrestling, swimming, gymnastics, golf and archery.

The striking disparities between the various sports at a representative large university appear in the following table covering the intercollegiate athletic activities at the University of Illinois during the year 1924-25. The table, with the comments, was supplied by the Director of Athletics.

Sport	*Games Played*	*Total Attendance*	*Average Attendance*	*No. Participating*	*Total Cost*	*Profit*	*Average Cost per Game*
Football	8	231,086	28,886	34	$67,135.01	Yes	$8,392
Basketball ...	17	64,895	3,817	13	12,283.09	Yes	723
Baseball	21	53,100	2,528	21	17,524.37	No	834
Track	14	14,000	1,000	40	19,579.50	No	1,398
Wrestling ...	5	4,873	975	11	3,262.36	No	652
Tennis	5	No count	.....	5	700.95	No	140
Gymnastics ..	3	No count	.....	13	1,015.40	No	338
Golf	5	No count	.....	5	451.27	No	90
Swimming ...	4	918	254	18	1,695.18	No	229

Our expenditure for football during 1924-25 was $67,135.01, but in that sum may have been included items not included by other universities. Following is an itemized statement:

Salaries	$9,580.23
Travel	7,514.05
Supplies	6,261.48
Repairs and Maintenance	5,707.93
Advertising and printing	4,867.04
Game expense	14,222.40
Training and hospital	6,916.77
Ticket selling	9,845.17
Awards	807.55
Laundry	402.90
Concessions	263.26
Wages	20.00
Miscellaneous	726.23

Some of these items will probably look quite large to the reader, but they cover a good bit of territory not ordinarily thought about—for instance, under "Game Expense" is included cleaning down stands after games, repairing roads around the stadium, hiring extra policemen for handling crowds, setting up temporary bleachers, gatemen for games, officials' expenses, parking grounds, etc. Under "Training and Hospital" is included a proportionate part of the trainers' salary, operations, hospital bills, and so on. "Ticket selling" includes a proportionate part of the salary of the ticket manager, wages of temporary employees, and a large mailing expense. "Awards" includes the buying of sweaters.

The overwhelming preëminence of football in attendance and cost is true of all the institutions visited. The proceeds from football carry the deficits on most of the other sports and in addition yield funds for stadium building. The contrast between the vast numbers of spectators and the handful of participants is worth thinking about. An item not brought out in the table is that the outlays for coaches and managers for the respective sports rank in about the same order as their total costs.

It may be in place to point out that in the latter half of this chapter attention will be directed to intercollegiate football, for the reason that in the colleges visited, as well as in published discussions of athletics, the bulk of the criticism has been directed against it, whereas other intercollegiate sports have come in for comparatively little criticism.

INTRA-MURAL SPORTS

All the sports covered by intercollegiate athletics, and many besides, are included in intra-mural sports, the main purpose of which is to foster play for all. The first organized system of intra-mural sports was established at the University of Michigan in 1913. In 1924-25 at that institution more than 6,000 students out of an enrolment of 10,068 participated in intra-mural sports. An instructive comparison of these sports with intercollegiate athletics is made possible by the following table giving data for intra-mural sports at the University of Illinois for the year 1924-25.

Except for the salary of the director these twenty intra-mural sports are self-supporting. The per capita cost for participants is insignificant and is readily met by nominal entrance fees to some of the events. There are none of the outlays that eat up the huge gate receipts in intercollegiate football: expensive out-

Game	*No. of Teams Playing*	*No. of Men Participating*	*No. of Games Played*
Playground Ball	48	624	169
Water Basketball	21	158	65
Volley-ball	56	481	176
Basketball	120	1,107	393
Baseball	75	1,726	190
Soccer	4	60	6
Football	4	132	6
Fall Tennis	...	136	116
Fall Golf	...	52	57
Indoor Track	...	520	1
Athletic Carnival	...	932	1
Spring Golf	...	75	68
Spring Tennis	...	97	83
Horseshoes	...	122	60
Spring Track	...	202	...
Swimming	...	225	2
Free Throw	...	156	1
Boxing	...	55	...
Wrestling	...	71	...
Life-saving	...	103	...
Total	328	6,984	1,444

fits, high-priced coaches, training tables, traveling expenses, printing and publicity. To add zest to interclass games, numerals are awarded to class teams in certain institutions, somewhat after the fashion of the letter for varsity teams.

Some significant contrasts appear: in the intercollegiate table the high figures are those for spectators and for costs; in the intra-mural table the corresponding figures are not recorded, but are known to be much smaller, whereas the figures for the number of men and teams participating and games played are very much larger. Allowance, however, should be made for the fact that in the intercollegiate table, the "second teams" and "scrubs" do not appear to have been included. In intercollegiate athletics, winning is the dominant objective, whereas in intra-mural sports getting as many as possible into the play is the principal purpose. The outcome is that there is only one varsity team, and a very few class and departmental teams, and the number of competitions that each team can undergo is necessarily small; whereas in intra-mural sports, the number of teams and participants and games is legion. Instead of staging one game a week, during a short season, with a jealous eye on the weather, the intra-mural games proceed, several at a time, on any day of the week and can be postponed at will.

Although the intercollegiate sports and the intra-mural sports appear to live harmoniously side by side at the institutions visited and, indeed, to be coached and directed often by the same men, yet there is no blinking the fact that the two systems emphasize different principles, and the evidence to be given later indicates that intercollegiate football, at any rate, as now carried on, has some heavy liabilities.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

All of the institutions require students to take a certain amount of physical training under the Department of Physical Education. Generally, this involves two or three hours a week in gymnasium work during the first two years, but intercollegiate athletics may be accepted as an equivalent, provided examination shows the participant able to endure the more strenuous activity. At one state university all students have been required to enroll in some kind of physical activity for eight full semesters, one hour twice a week. Four hours' credit toward graduation is given for this work. At certain institutions, class work is required of freshmen only. This is true of Princeton, but there the pressure and appeal are such as to draw about 90 per cent. of the entire student body into some sort of indoor or outdoor physical activity. As a rule, the required courses consist largely of exercises with musical accompaniment and indoor group games. Individual corrective exercises also are prescribed.

The scope of the better departments of physical education may be made more explicit by quoting outline descriptions of departments in two large institutions, the first a coeducational university, the second a women's college.

> The university has departments of Physical Training, Hygiene and Preventive Medicine, and Military Training. All men and women students in the freshman and sophomore classes are required to take three hours a week of physical training. Juniors and seniors are relieved of required physical exercise provided their periodical medical examinations show that they have kept themselves in satisfactory physical condition. Otherwise they may be required to take or continue corrective physical exercises. Courses are offered in physical education in all of the colleges. Intercollegiate athletics may be substituted under certain conditions for physical training.
>
> The college has a department which combines hygiene with physical education, with two full professors, three assistant

professors, five instructors, one associate physician, three assistant physicians and four secretaries. The college physician gives her entire time to the students in the practice of preventive medicine together with the teaching of efficient living. Daily office hours are held for consultation and every student may have free advice on all matters in any way affecting health. Freshmen are required to take a lecture and practice course in personal hygiene and body mechanics and a similar course in social and community hygiene. Each of these courses involves weekly one hour of lecture, one of recitation and three half-hour periods of gymnastics and sports. Sophomores are required to take personal and community hygiene, gymnastics and sports, with periods similar to those of the freshmen. The elective courses reveal a wide range including epidemiology and chemical pathology and home and community hygiene.

HEALTH AND HYGIENE

Courses on health and hygiene are given in all the institutions either by the Department of Health or the Department of Physical Education. It is a minimum requirement that students take a year's course in this department on personal hygiene and preventive medicine, receiving, as a rule, one hour's credit. The inquirers heard many favorable comments in the colleges visited on the work both of this department and of the Department of Physical Education.

Vocational courses for teachers of physical education, hygienists, play directors and coaches are offered by many institutions, including the colleges for women. At Wellesley there is a five years' course in physical education leading to the B. A. degree.

Practically free medical service and infirmary treatment are provided for all students. At Michigan, for example, there are seven full-time physicians and at Cornell, nine.

MILITARY INSTRUCTION

In state institutions, military instruction is given as a matter of course, and in several of the private colleges for men it is also provided. At certain colleges artillery and cavalry courses are given by U. S. Army officers, leading to a first or second lieutenancy for all students that pass them. In all but one of the six state institutions visited, military science is required of all men for at least the freshman and sophomore years. Wherever the R. O. T. C. system prevails a certain amount is paid to students that elect the subject in junior and senior years and attend a training

camp for six weeks. The last few years have witnessed a widespread protest against required military training particularly in the state institutions, but it was not a live issue in the institutions visited.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

The chief distinguishing characteristics of women's physical activities are that the range of intra-mural sports is narrower than men's and that intercollegiate athletics are entirely absent. Furthermore, while in nearly all the women's colleges visited extensive and excellent provisions for physical instruction and sports were found, the provisions for women in the coeducational institutions were, in the majority of cases, much inferior to those made for men. Sharp protests against this disparity are being voiced, like this one by a woman senior in a mid-west coeducational institution which has erected a half-million dollar stadium:

> The women's athletic association has no equipment. The gym is poorly ventilated and hot, with no parallel bars, no hurdle and only one pair of rings. There are two tennis courts and a hockey field full of holes. One of the few privileges the girls are given is the use of the swimming-pool in the men's new gym.

Suggestive of what the inquirers found to be a rather common attitude among men in coeducational institutions was the chance remark of a professor:

> The men use the gymnasium and swimming-pool six days and five nights each week and on the other night the women are allowed to use them, if the gym isn't needed for some other event.

At one state university the Women's Athletic Association was found to be active and the equipment fairly good. A professor said of it:

> The W. A. A. is in close harmony with the physical education department. Its members coach W. A. A. teams. However, there is student selection of teams with welcome suggestions about choice from the teacher best acquainted with the sport for which they are to be selected. W. A. A. has an active association of about 200 students. A member cannot miss two consecutive meetings of the association. There is keen competition between classes. The men respect women's athletics. Quite a number of girls come out to watch the games. There is opposition to intercollegiate athletics, for

the women are afraid that the games would be commercialized as the men's games have been and that the strain of such competition would be too great and would defeat their very purpose—to make women better physically and morally.

A junior woman student, president of the Y. W. C. A. at an endowed coeducational college, said:

> The W. A. A. is made up of girls who have made 100 points by playing games. Those in the organization who get 1,000 points are given the Varsity W, a coveted honor; each game played gives a little W, and 25 or 50 points entitles one to the numerals; it is expected that one who wins any of these will always exhibit the college spirit, even after they have left the teams, and if one fails to do so, she is likely to lose favor with the girls most decidedly.

The inferior facilities and direction generally afforded the women students at coeducational institutions doubtless account for the distaste or indifference for athletics expressed by many girls in these institutions, whereas the prevailing spirit among girls in the colleges for women was one of enthusiasm.

The ideals which seemed to the inquirers to be cherished at all the women's colleges visited were aptly expressed by the director of the Department of Hygiene at an eastern college for women:

> We do not depend on athletics for the development of college loyalty. This department has no wish to see athletics forced into an outstanding position in college life. Our students take their athletics quite simply and naturally, without great stress on the competitive aspect and its accompanying excitement. We mean to live the same ethical principles in the conduct of athletics as are or should be lived in other phases of college activity. The students have a large part in the management of their athletics through the Athletic Board, of which I am ex-officio a member. The board has quite consistently supported the principle of opportunity for all and overwork for none. Its management has been most businesslike, sane, fair-minded and conscientious.

EQUIPMENT

The visitor to any of the institutions cannot fail to be struck by the size and elaborateness of the equipment for sports and physical training. A few examples will suffice to make this vivid. At the University of Illinois the equipment for men includes three large and four medium-sized gymnasiums, three fields totaling forty acres, two swimming-pools, four running tracks, one

armory, and a recently completed stadium. At the University of Michigan the provision, primarily for the 7,500 male students and for competitive athletics, consists of: a field house, 286 by 160 feet, with 800 lockers and fifty-five showers; the administration building, three fields totaling seventy-six acres, of which forty are only partially improved for intra-mural sports; a stadium, seating 44,000 and a baseball grandstand, seating 11,000; thirty tennis courts and a skating pavilion. At Princeton an elaborate equipment has been provided for the artillery and cavalry corps and an artificial lake three miles long has been constructed for rowing.

GENERAL TRENDS

The inquirers discerned certain definite tendencies in the attitudes of administrative and athletic authorities in the colleges toward the physical activities.

ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY

Administrations are increasingly accepting responsibility for all phases of physical activity, including intercollegiate competition. Dr. S. V. Sanford, of the University of Georgia, reporting in 1924 to the National Collegiate Athletic Association, said:

> The time has come for colleges to declare the policy and make no apology for it, that athletics is as much the business of the president, faculty and trustees as is the teaching of mathematics or history, and no more to be relinquished to students and alumni than are the other features of the college work and government.
>
> The seventh district has faculty control, even among its junior colleges, and faculty control of athletics is the one safeguard against the evils which fasten themselves upon intercollegiate competition.

This trend is shown by the increasing inclusion of coaches and graduate managers in the faculty and by the appointment of boards of control, composed of faculty, students and alumni. Again Dr. Sanford may be quoted:

> An athletic coach should be as stable a part of the instructional staff as the dean of a college.

The University of Chicago has followed this policy from the beginning. The Director of Physical Welfare at Massachusetts Agricultural College thus summarized the policy pursued:

> All our coaches in charge of teams must be regular members of the faculty. Athletics is recognized by the college as a part of its regular program and a place is made for it in the schedule.

The director of physical education at a large state university is a member of the academic senate. He said:

> The students are having less to do with managing athletics. The Athletic Council has thirteen members, four faculty members, six students and three alumni. The coaches have regular status, being appointed by the administration.

The dean of men, who is also athletic adviser, at a small coeducational college told of a similar plan:

> The athletic department is being reorganized and a new graduate manager is coming who will be head, with all coaches responsible to him. This manager will be a regular member of the faculty, but will be directly responsible to the Athletic Association, composed of students and faculty.

This administrative recognition finds expression also in the requirement of a certain amount of physical work for graduation.

Stricter control is coming to be exercised over all phases of athletics. The methods in force at Cornell, Princeton and Michigan will suffice to show the general principles being adopted by many institutions. An athletic officer at Cornell thus described the system:

> The Athletic Association, an independent corporation, controls the finances of the athletic field and of intercollegiate athletics, but the field is owned by the university trustees. The association has an incorporated board of sixteen members, four student managers, three student captains and two student representatives of sports. Eligibility to teams is wholly a faculty matter and faculty members serve on all sports committees. Any student, regardless of his athletic ability, is promptly dropped if his scholarship standing falls below grade.

Princeton has three agencies of control: an eligibility committee, an athletic board of control and an undergraduate committee, which have been thus defined:

> The Eligibility Committee is made up entirely of faculty members. All questions of eligibility, whether scholastic, of amateur standing or of sportsmanship on the field, are determined exclusively by this committee. It also has the power

of approving or disapproving—that is, vetoing—all coaches. It has exclusive power of determining the fitness of a man to play, and the final say-so rests with this faculty committee. This committee also has the power to recognize new sports, which are generally recommended to the committee by the undergraduate committee. It also has the power to make all agreements with Harvard and Yale and to determine all the rules of sportmanship.

The Board of Athletic Control is composed of three trustees, three alumni, three undergraduates elected by the undergraduate committee on athletics, three members of the faculty eligibility committee and the president of the university ex-officio.

The board has every other power not vested in the faculty eligibility committee. It has control over all finances of the athletic association and business arrangements of every kind. Committee and the board are distinct and separate, yet the chairmanships of both have always been held by the same man, thus binding the two harmoniously together.

The Undergraduate Committee represents the student body and has the power of recommendation on any athletic matter whatever and has complete control over insignia.

The Board of Control at Michigan consists of five professors, including the head of the department of physical education, three students and three representatives of the alumni association.

GROWTH OF INTRA-MURAL PLAY

Play for all, through intra-mural sports, has been making rapid headway. Many coaches, as well as directors of physical education, are heartily espousing it, though some of them are anxious lest it too completely displace intercollegiate athletics and thus sacrifice the stimulus and the monetary underpinning which the intercollegiate competitions supply. At several institutions students, as well as directors, referred with pride to the fact that 75 to 90 per cent. of the entire student body were taking part in some sport. At three institutions the faculty are encouraged to participate in the play program. The schedule is being adjusted accordingly: at Yale classes are over at three-thirty, and at Princeton at two-thirty, except for laboratory periods, so that all may have time for sport. The director of physical education at the University of Kansas maintains that time for play should be distributed throughout the day, so that there shall be space and facilities enough for all who turn out at any one hour.

EDUCATIONAL VALUES OF SPORTS

The educational utilization of physical activities is gradually gaining ground. This does not mean that formal academic requirements are being saddled on the sports, but that the indispensable part of hearty, coöperative play in developing all-round personality is being distinctly recognized. That this involves closer faculty relations with athletics is generally agreed, care being taken to preserve student initiative and spontaneity. Thus the director of physical welfare at one college said:

> College athletics must be supervised by a department of the college. No other agency will ever make the athletic aims consistent with the other educational aims of the institution.

A University of Wisconsin bulletin has stated that the moral requirements of citizenship are supplied by athletics:

> The department of physical education aims to promote athletics in their broadest sense, not only for their physical effect, but for their effect on the moral fiber of the individual. It is a fine thing to develop the body; it is even a finer thing to develop the mind, but the greatest value comes from the fact that athletics develops character, the qualities worth while. Team experience for every man in school—the development and practice of the rugged virtues of courage, determination, coöperation and self-control are assets to the individual and to the nation. These are the qualities that make athletics so invaluable.

What the authors regard as a balanced educational conception of physical activities has for years prevailed in the colleges for women and this kind of conception is now coming to be held also in a few colleges for men.

INCREASE OF EQUIPMENT

Equipment is being rapidly enlarged to keep pace with the demand. Ever larger play fields, gymnasiums and swimming-pools are being provided and a few roofed-over game pavilions are to be seen, as at the University of Michigan. Stadium building is the order of the day; but sharp critics are pointing out that stadia are contradictory of the slogan "play for all" since they really encourage passive watching, not active playing. That the spending of large sums on stadia impoverishes the academic side of at least one college was charged in this statement of a friendly critic:

> The mania for games is centering in our colleges. The president here said he could not stand up against it, so yielded and went ahead. There is no assembly hall adequate to hold the student body, no adequate salaries, too large classes, and yet they put $500,000 into a stadium for five spectacular events a year in which perhaps fifteen members of the student body take part each time. The faculty are very much concerned at this situation. The alumni problem is serious. The boys have higher standards than many of the alumni who are actively interested here.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Gate receipts from football games are still depended on to finance the bulk of the entire sports program and to supply funds to build stadia. So long as the major institutions retain high-salaried coaches and maintain expensive training tables and all the other appurtenances of the present competitive system, it appears impracticable to make ends meet except by football gate receipts; and if any radical change is to be effected, the major colleges would have to scale down simultaneously, like the great powers in the case of disarmament. The situation and the trend are outlined in these excerpts.

Dr. S. V. Sanford, reporting in 1924 to the National Collegiate Athletic Association, said:

> It is from the gate receipts from football contests that we are able to have baseball, track, tennis, golf and all other minor sports. Our legislatures have not made sufficiently great appropriations to maintain intercollegiate athletics, intra-mural sports and physical training.

The financial report of the Yale Athletic Association for 1925-26 showed that football had a net income of $244,807.40, the only major sport that earned a profit. Track, crew and baseball showed a total deficit of $114,161.33.

Mr. F. H. Yost, director of the Department of Intercollegiate Athletics at the University of Michigan, closed his annual report for 1925 with the words:

> The stadium is the key to the whole program. Football incomes make possible the rest of the program, and football incomes depend upon seating capacity. On these incomes depends our entire plan of expansion, the supervision, maintenance and operation of our program of intercollegiate athletics, and, to a large extent, the facilities for intra-mural athletics.

He argued, however, the necessity of developing other sources of income:

> It is unreasonable to expect that a full program in physical education for all the students, including all buildings and grounds and supervision for recreation, physical exercise and competitive athletics can be financed from the profits of football alone. Michigan has already done more in this respect than any other university in America.
>
> If we are to have suitable buildings, equipment and other facilities and provide the supervision necessary for such a program, other sources of income in addition to the gate receipts from football games, must be provided. Practically every state legislature in the country has appropriated money from state funds for gymnasia, tennis courts, physical education instruction, etc., and the majority of the universities have been provided with football stadia and grounds by alumni groups, individual gifts and student subscriptions.

So long ago as 1919 President Kenneth C. M. Sills, of Bowdoin College, definitely suggested that athletic budgets be provided by the institution:[1]

> The old evils are still with us and will be until we can have all coaching done by men who have permanent connection with the institution and are directly responsible to the institution. We all believe that athletics form a very important part of the education that a college gives. *Why not put the cost of athletics in the college budget?* It is really as illogical to pass the hat around among the alumni to help hire a football or baseball coach as it would be to do the same thing for an instructor in history or physics; and intercollegiate contests ought to be opportunities for a college to extend its hospitality to its graduates and friends and a selected number of the public instead of being a money-making device.

It would appear to be a logical conclusion that if intra-mural sports are a vital part of a complete educational process, then the institutions as such should provide for them in the budget as they do for the physical education courses.

EFFECTS OF INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS ON STUDENTS

The authors have been led to the conclusion that, in their effects on the character of students as a whole, physical activities fall broadly into two groups: the one participated in by many students

[1] Report of New England district to National Collegiate Athletic Association.

and subject to few abuses or harmful effects, the other participated in by comparatively few students and subject to many abuses and harmful effects. The former includes intra-mural sports, physical education, health and hygiene. The latter includes intercollegiate football and to a less degree other sports.

Since every one seriously interested in higher education is deeply concerned about solving the problems and removing the abuses connected with intercollegiate football, chief attention in this chapter will be focussed on it. But in order to present a fairly balanced picture, a resumé of opinions as to the good effects of intercollegiate athletics will first be given.

VALUE TO CHARACTER

The value to character, as well as to physical well-being, of all forms of congenial physical activity is generally accepted as axiomatic. Particularly is this true of coöperative sports or team-play, but intercollegiate games also, notwithstanding their liability to abuse, were held by all sorts of witnesses to possess decided moral values. Coaches, student participants and non-participants and faculty members in touch with athletics were nearly unanimous in this conviction. There were, however, some skeptics, and a forceful statement by a professor who challenged the prevailing views is given later.

Prof. A. A. Stagg, of the University of Chicago, has thus stated his position:

> It (athletics) employs the leisure in wholesome and beneficial ways; takes a man's mind and directs it along wholesome lines, and keeps it off the unwholesome; it curtails his animal spirits so as to stop expression in explosive ways that are immoral. I know this because I have tested it out in my experience with boys. The grip of immorality is broken by athletics. The real reason I am in the coaching game is because I believe in the practical value of athletics; practical in the moral development of the youth. They are of immeasurable value, one of the strongest forces now in operation to counteract the tremendous moral let-down in the relations of both men and women. The great laxity in personal relations is most dangerous. There aren't enough agencies and they are not nearly strong enough to counteract these tendencies. They need the powerful aid of athletics. Wherever athletics are handled as they should be they become just about the strongest agency toward this end.

Professor Stagg's opinions are supported by the three following quotations from other athletic officers:

> I would like college and university idealists to know that athletics are justified from the educational standpoint. They involve discipline, give poise, ability to think quickly, control passions, give the fighting spirit. Teach men to play the game square. These will carry on through life. (A football coach at a small college for men.)

> The present undergraduate represents a better type of man than formerly. We have far less drinking of hard liquor and students are much busier. They are kept occupied scholastically. There is more of a tendency to run around with girls; perhaps with women, or have sweethearts and go off week-ends to see them, but men are better morally than ten years back. I know they are more capable. Perhaps our greater care in admitting students is responsible for this. I believe, however, that our great increase of athletic layout and activity is largely responsible for this improvement. (The director of athletics at a large university for men.)

> If all the students had physical education and sports it would almost eliminate the sex problem. Boys and girls don't get enough athletics to whip off the edge. It affects the morals of the whole institution. Crowds stay through a football game, losing six to nothing in a blinding snowstorm and never murmur, game to the end. This spirit carries over into campus politics and cuts out mud-slinging. Clean living is now coming to be more manly than unclean living. (A member of the department of physical education in a state university.)

Dr. Jesse F. Williams, professor of physical education at Teachers College, Columbia University, after a three years' survey of athletics reported that 120 representative men connected with colleges in all parts of the United States had arranged the good effects of intercollegiate athletics in this order: team play, clean living, discipline and hard work, loyalty, confidence and self-control, respect for the rules of the game, service and self-sacrifice, stamina and courage, quick thinking under fire, etc.

INFLUENCE OF COACHES

Some values were recognized in competitive athletics by faculty and administrative members also, and they in common with students traced those values in good measure to the character of the coaches. A recorder in a large university said:

> Football is fairly helpful. Many men get more out of college in the way of self-mastery through the coach than from any other thing in the university. A friend of mine who has a boy soon to enter said: "If the old coach is there yet, my boy will take football."

A professor of Greek in a medium-sized university emphasized the importance of the coach's influence:

> Athletics form one of the most helpful factors. They develop men physically and when the coach is square and straight, they give the men a set for clean play. I believe our athletics are more moral than our academic education.

President Hopkins, of Dartmouth, declared, early in 1927, that intercollegiate sports, particularly football, had "certain vital values" which could not be spared "without impairing the masculinity and virility which most of us want to feel to be typical of communities of college men."

Student participants testified as follows:

> Athletics means much to me. Perhaps more to me than others. I expect to make a living from it, either coaching or reporting. It has great value in developing control of temper and brings one in contact with a great variety of people. Athletics gets the student body together and creates great influence in the college itself. Athletics is the strongest influence on the campus as a whole.

> The only place you can get character is on the football field. The "old man" really teaches character. This seems bigger to him than turning out football teams. (A member of the baseball team at a coeducational university.)

> A letter man will sacrifice anything, even a whole meet, to play square. We learn this from the coach. Intra-mural athletics are splendid for the whole student body. (A track letter man in the same university.)

> I believe a college without athletics is like a library without books. (A senior at a medium-sized university.)

> Athletics proves to men that anything worth while must be fought for hard. (A football manager at a small men's college.)

> Football has become much more a business than a pleasure, but it is a great character-builder and while rough, is not dirty. It is in athletics we make friendships which count and which last. (A football man at a medium-sized university for men.)

A member of a varsity football team at another university, however, while agreeing that football had become a business, was less optimistic about its moral values:

> I don't need to tell you that I am for every kind of outdoor sport and recreation, but I must say frankly that varsity football has become a business rather than a sport, a terrific grind rather than recreation. Probably a lot of people have talked to you about the moral values of football. Well, a lot of it is true, of course, but where's the value in being cursed and "ridden" by a coach who constantly hammers instead of quietly helping his men, and whose real interest is his own reputation, and what he gets out of it? Where is the value in a system that is dominated in its policy by the size of the gate receipts and that makes of a college sport a highly organized commercial business which you have to submit to without a word or get kicked out? Of course nobody will give you the real facts on this, for the crowd pressure for a winning team at whatever cost is terrific. The truth of it is, all the same, that a number of our varsity men are all fed up on this sort of thing. It takes a man months to get over it.

Students not on varsity teams were found on both sides of the question. The approving ones saw in athletics the values described in the following illustrative excerpts:

> Athletics develop punctuality, perseverance, confidence, cleanliness both of mind and body, and honor. Play is absolutely clean, but hard. (An editor at a state university.)

> I believe our athletics are great character-building forces. The self-control of the team, when a raw deal is given by the referee, is great. Athletics challenge every young man in them to clean play and a square deal. According to my information, the coaches quickly dismiss any boy who is not clean and not up in scholarship. This last fall they dropped three splendid athletes because they were not up in their work. (A man at another state university.)

When all the alleged moral values are massed together, they make an impressive array. For the players, among the chief are self-control, fair play at any cost, close friendships, sublimation of the sex impulse, grit and persistence, loyalty to team and to the institution.

VALUES TO NON-PARTICIPANTS

Most of the testimonies dealing with the advantages of athletics in general and of football in particular referred only to the players.

The recognized advantages of football for the entire undergraduate body were well summarized by the report of Committee G on "Intercollegiate Football," as follows:

> It affords a recreation so absorbing as to dispel for the time being whatever mental weariness and anxieties the week may have brought. It creates a strong sense of common interest. The sight of the filled stands evokes and intensifies the consciousness of human community, and the sense of the emotional solidarity of each stand, strengthened as each stand participates vicariously in the action of the runner, or passer or tackler, is in itself a stirring thing. This sense of common interest, continuing throughout the season, tends to develop a common bond of loyalty. It affords for the entire football season a clean and interesting topic of conversation and thought.

An editorial in a university daily puts a similar thought in more pungent language:

> For the sake of our own sanity we must from time to time escape from our own little egos, forget our selfish interests and be merged in something greater than ourselves.
>
> In earlier days religious enthusiasm often furnished the means for such an escape; not long since the Great War roused a patriotism that carried men out of themselves. But war is too high a price to pay for such an experience, necessary as it is. To-day certain youths with imagination and optimism can obtain similar results by falling in love. But for the great mass of college students there is nothing like a hotly contested intercollegiate contest to make them forget themselves and cause them to be rapt for a time in another world. The complete effacement of self-interest in the hope and fear for the success of the team, the whole-souled devotion to a cause, which at the time, at least, looms atop the whole horizon, serve as a sort of sacrament. We return from such a game as from a spiritual bath, cleansed and refreshed for another round of eight o'clocks.
>
> In spite of the disadvantages which they inflict on the athlete, therefore, intercollegiate athletics must be maintained for the benefit of the rest of the students. We pay, to be sure, a high price for them, but the price is not too high in view of the spiritual results which we gain in return.

A DISSENTING VIEW

A frankly skeptical view regarding the moral value of athletics was expressed in a private letter by a psychologist in a men's col-

lege who has been in close and sympathetic touch with athletics in a coeducational university:

> Now that intercollegiate athletics are under fire, the defenders have been quick to proclaim the moral value of participation in sports—especially football. It is claimed that athletics develop certain sterling virtues of manhood and womanhood, which are listed as coöperation, clean and fair play, unselfishness, obedience, grit and determination, clean sex living, quick thinking and the fighting spirit. Since these claims are unsupported by scientific facts and are, for the most part, mere matters of opinion, it might be well to present opinions on the other side. In taking the negative side of the question, it is with the awareness that the majority of opinion is on the affirmative. Indeed, some may insist that there is no negative—that the affirmative is axiomatic. But let's see—
>
> (1) In the first place a very superficial analysis of the situation reveals that the immediate objective of college sports is a winning team. The game in every case is played to win, not to develop character in the players. The players coöperate, they fight, they obey, etc., because the rules and the coach tell them to, not because of any moral principles involved. Some players, no doubt, play clean on principle alone, but these are the men who brought their principles into the game with them. Others play honestly because there is an officer present with a whistle; such players are clean, cooperative, etc., because they don't dare do otherwise. The argument that football develops a character quality of fair play in a player who would if he could *play dirty* is like saying that coin boxes on street cars are devices for developing honesty in the conductors. The point is that those who claim moral training for sports make the mistake of assuming that character traits are acquired by going through the motions.
>
> (2) There are vices as well as virtues involved in college athletics. It is possible that some quite undesirable character quality may result from it. For example, Dr. Meiklejohn has pointed out the danger involved in the absolute subservience of the players to the coach. Such complete and unquestioned obedience is not a thing to be desired for the best state of society. A football team as an organization is a perfect specimen of an oligarchy. The coaches are the dictators—their word is law. The total effect on the players is not in the direction of democratic citizenship.
>
> The false hero-worship received by individual players is undesirable. The stars are "written up" locally and nationally. Their opinions are sought on a wide variety of topics; they are elected to college offices which they are incompetent to fill; they get a false perspective of their abilities. Some stand the tide, others are swept away. The egotism and snobbishness

which are likely to develop are enough to offset a dozen virtues.

Now take the "fighting spirit" which is in the list of virtues. This is good or bad depending on who is doing the fighting and what or who it is that is being fought. Fighting disease or fighting for freedom, or fighting the devil, or battling for some moral principle is one thing; but fighting your fellow man to get a higher score is another thing, and quite different morally. During the World War army officers claimed the ex-football men made good soldiers (and especially good bayonet men) and praised football as a good training for war!

(3) Those who argue for the moral values of athletics assume a "faculty" psychology which has long since been discarded save in the domain of character education. Educational psychology fought out the battle of "transfer of training" twenty years ago, and after long and exacting researches came to the conclusion that there is transfer from one situation to another only when they have elements in common. In the light of what is known about transfer in educational subjects and in the light of what is known about human nature in general, it is exceedingly likely that moral conduct is quite specific. Training in coöperation, or fair play, or quick thinking in one kind of situation does not guarantee it in all situations. It may be true that football does develop these qualities in football, and even other sports, but will they transfer to business life, to professional life, or dealings with one's family or friends? Life presents literally thousands of varied situations calling for honest and clean conduct. These situations differ very widely and are surrounded with all sorts of peculiar circumstances, and "circumstances do alter cases." The conclusion that there is a transfer of moral qualities from athletics to life situations is entirely hypothetical, and especially if the life situations are different from those of the game.

(4) Do college graduates who participated in athletics during their undergraduate days appear in later life to possess any moral advantages over those who as undergraduates did not participate in organized sports? Do the ex-athletes become the social and moral leaders of their communities; do they stand for clean living, coöperative enterprises, fair play in all things? If so, do they any more so than others who are not ex-athletes? If this is so, then can this moral superiority be traced to participation in sports, and not to early home life? Did they get it from the game, or did they take it into the game with them? Questions like these must be answered before those who claim moral values for athletics can prove their case.

This is a challenging statement, and it raises several points not referred to by other witnesses. The great majority seemed to the inquirers to accept the moral values of athletics as beyond question, and to have no serious skepticism even about intercollegiate competition, for men students. The present system of intercollegiate football, however, was held by some administrators and teachers to be in need of drastic reform, and this conviction was shared by some of the best known coaches and directors of physical education. In setting forth the evils of the present system, the authors rely mainly upon statements by such specialists.

DANGERS OF INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS

The outstanding evils and dangers which the authors believe athletic authorities no less than administrators and faculty members almost unanimously deplore, fall under the following nine heads: winning, as the dominant aim; commercialization; proselyting; professionalization; interference of alumni; play turned into drudgery; participation restricted to a few; emotional intemperance of non-participants; distortion of ideas as to the purposes of higher education.[2]

Before treating these evils one by one, it may be illuminating to present a comprehensive statement of the whole situation as it looks to one on the inside, in the form of extracts from an address delivered before the National Collegiate Athletic Association, on December 28, 1923, by Prof. C. W. Savage, Director of Athletics and member of the faculty at Oberlin College. Although the views presented by him have been endorsed by other athletic authorities, there are a number who think he paints too black a picture.

> The president and faculty of Oberlin College look upon intercollegiate athletics as a reasonable and justifiable interest in college life and they wish athletics to be directed and utilized rather than abolished. But I believe that I should misrepresent my associates on the faculty if I did not state emphatically that we, many of us at least, are very far from satisfied with our own achievements in handling intercollegi-

[2] It will be noticed that the evils and dangers here named refer primarily to intercollegiate athletics as a system, or to the student body as a whole, rather than to individual students. One possible danger to the character of individual players has been suggested by Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn. It is that the iron-clad subservience to the coach tends to smother initiative in the players, whereas self-reliance, initiative and independent judgment are traits which should be conserved and strengthened by true education.

ate sports and are still more dissatisfied, nay, even appalled at the present trend in intercollegiate football throughout the nation.

American intercollegiate football, with its expensive coaching staffs, be the men seasonal or all-the-year coaches, with its scouting system, with its lavish expenditures for equipment and for care of the players, with its excessive demands upon their time, with its great stadia and stupendous gate receipts, with its newspaper notoriety, with its intersectional and transcontinental trips and the hegira of frenzied rooters, as "bums" or following by autos and by special trains to the number of five, ten, even twenty thousand, traveling a day's journey and more, with the too-frequent betting before the game and drunkenness and excesses after, and worst of all, with its prostitution of high-school athletes by recruiting and subsidizing, with its exploiting of college players by professional promoters, and with its mad will to win at any cost,—American intercollegiate football, thoroughly professionalized and commercialized in spirit and shot through with hypocrisy, the plaything of thoughtless alumni, the incarnation of the coaches who handle the players as pawns, exploited for revenue by the keen business manager,—American intercollegiate football, no longer the sport of light-hearted, laughing boys, but a grim battle carried to the point where it is too often vicious and vindictive—by what right has this thing come to be the supreme interest in the training and education of our best young men for future citizenship?

. . . . . .

I am not an enemy of intercollegiate competition. I would not abolish it if I could. It is my firm conviction that unless we, the friends of and believers in intercollegiate football, take hold of this problem, apply to it the best brains and keenest thought at our command, and ourselves bring about a radical revision of our methods of handling the game, then apprehensive and impatient faculties and trustees and anxious fathers and mothers are going to take the situation in hand. . . . The storm is gathering. We, who are the sponsors of intercollegiate football are in a dangerous position. Let us seriously consider and act before it is too late. Unless I am mistaken, some of you are already aware of the approaching tempest and are taking precautions. You are drawing up additional articles to your codes; you are asking for more declarations from students and affidavits from officers; you are extending greater courtesies; you are more punctilious in arrangements; you are appointing arbiters and eligibility committees; you are justifying your commercialism by the uses to which the great incomes are put; you are trying to justify the tremendous sums tied up in stadia by seeking additional

interests to help you use them more than four or five times a year; you are more opposed to seasonal coaches and more favorable to faculty control. There are abundant signs that some of you are apprehensive.

. . . . . .

In the period 1900 to 1905, football was under fire because of its roughness and the consequent maiming and killing of a considerable number of its best trained players. The game was modified, improved and saved. But the physical injuries and deaths of those days were as nothing compared with the loss of a fine sense of personal honor, the failure of high scholastic achievement, which present practices entail.

. . . . . .

Intercollegiate and interscholastic football cannot long continue under present conditions. . . . Little can be hoped for from increased restrictions, higher codes of eligibility, or closer supervision, as long as the present system of competition is retained.

What then is to be done? . . . Our experience at Oberlin has made it clear that no one college alone can solve the problem. Our faculty direction and utilization of athletic competition has gone about as far as it can go without the cooperation of three or four other colleges or, better still, of the entire conference.

What justification is there for any association or corporation or alumni committee using a group of college students to produce a great spectacle and make big money?

After all, the great objective of our intercollegiate football is morale, unity of thought and purpose, loyalty to our college and its traditions and clean recreation. There is nothing at all to prove that the achievement of these objectives is dependent upon fifteen, twenty or thirty thousand dollar coaching staffs, upon two or three million dollar stadia, upon fifteen boys picked from fifteen thousand. Let us face this situation soberly. Can we block the wheels of the Juggernaut? The National Collegiate Athletic Association can accomplish this stupendous task if it has the will to do so. In my judgment, it is high time for us to act.

The situation here so vividly depicted will now be considered in detail.

THE PASSION FOR WINNING

The passion for winning is the overmastering motive in intercollegiate football and it works powerfully also in other forms of intercollegiate athletics. "The desire to win is the keynote of all athletic evils," declared Prof. Leslie J. Ayer, in his 1922 report

on behalf of the ninth district of the National Collegiate Athletic Association. He traced the working out of this leitmotif:

> Feeling success to be dependent upon the winning of games, there is a strong temptation to draw fine lines and seek methods for the evasion of the athletic policies of the conference. Pressed by the public who support a winning team, by the alumni, who too often want to win at any cost and by a press which wants a winning team and conditions personal commendations on it, the temptation often becomes too strong and the evils of professionalism and proselyting abound in intangible forms and systems, insidiously destroying the vitals of the true ideals of sport.

How it may affect an entire institution was vividly described in a paper by President J. R. Angell, of Yale, written in 1918, when he was dean at the University of Chicago. The "vicious circle" is equally present to-day.

> The system stresses money, which, translated into gate receipts, is demoralizing to college ideals. You cannot have a professionally coached team with all the paraphernalia of attendants, uniforms, accoutrements and what not, without involving heavy expense. This expense can be met only by well patronized games bringing large gate receipts. Gate receipts come only from winning teams or near-winners. Hence we must have winning teams and do whatever is necessary to secure them. The vicious circle is thus complete, as many a college knows to its humiliation. The disintegration of conscience which good men exhibit when tempted in the manner suggested, has been one of the least edifying chapters in the history of American college life.

The report of the sixth district representative, Prof. W. S. Beyer, of Iowa, in 1921, stressed the same point:

> This unquenchable desire to win is promoting the recruiting system in its most objectionable form and is, in a large measure, responsible for questionable methods in team coaching. Coaches are duly impressed with the fact that they must produce winners in order to retain their positions.

In 1923, Professor Sanford, of the southern district, wrote:

> We have remedied a hundred evils, but we still have with us, those who desire to win at any cost.

In the same year Dr. H. L. Marshall, reporting for the Rocky Mountain district, said:

> The idea of winning games, which is commendable up to a certain point, is influencing too largely the formation of football schedules and the tenure of office of coaches. It is dangerously near to being the sole criterion of athletic success. To bring about winning, the armamentarium for the development of teams is yearly becoming more elaborate and costly.

The sinister influence of the excessive desire to win is occasionally admitted also by student players, but for the most part they take it for granted as a part of the fixed nature of things.

The disease is acute and a cure will demand drastic remedies such as were suggested by Prof. D. A. Penick, of the University of Texas, in his report for the ninth athletic district in 1923:

> The director must be a man who puts the good of the school and the education of the boys above the desire to win. The coaches must be men of high ideals in every respect, who work not only to win games, but more especially to help the boys win in the great preparation for life, and they must be full-time employees of the institutions, with the best interests of the institution on their hearts. With this array of faculty, director and coaches on the right side, the evils of college athletics will be removed. Professionalism, commercialism and proselyting cannot exist in such an atmosphere. All these evils are based upon the desire to win at any cost. Put above that desire the higher ideals of competition for its own sake and for the sake of the highest development of the participants, the whole school and the spectators, and all the evils incident to the one great evil will automatically disappear and this is the only way.

COMMERCIALISM

In an age which measures so many things by a monetary yardstick, it is not strange that college football should have become a money-maker without incurring much censure. But the desire for large gate receipts is not all ignoble, for, as Prof. A. A. Stagg, of the University of Chicago, and others have pointed out, they have in good measure been devoted to supporting the other intercollegiate sports and the growing program of intra-mural sports. Dr. G. L. Meylan, of Columbia, ascertained a few years ago that in the twenty-eight institutions in the second athletic district "approximately one-half of all the money spent for athletics comes from football receipts."

Professor Stagg holds that the gains of intercollegiate athletics

far outweigh the evils, provided there is firm control. Views expressed by Prof. Leslie J. Ayer support Professor Stagg:

> The large sums of money involved in stadium construction and in gate receipts and the enormous publicity given to these great public spectacles cannot help but arouse anxiety. Commercialism is the usual cry. Care should be used, however, in the indiscriminate use of this term, as in many senses it is not necessarily an evil. Rightly used and managed, these alleged evils offer the universities the greatest opportunity for the future development of athletics and the education of the public to the finest ideals in sports. Professionalism and proselyting have been the two outstanding evils in all forms of intercollegiate athletics. The desire to win is the forerunner of both. And urging on the desire to win, we find large crowds and large gate receipts and intense public interest, popular demand and a responsive press. The solution of this grave problem lies in control.

A president of the National Collegiate Athletic Association, General Palmer E. Pierce, while recognizing the grave dangers of enormous gate receipts, holds that they are justified because "mass participation in athletics by the student body requires large sums of money and these sums can only be adequately provided from gate receipts."

But the problems symbolized by the huge stadia now springing up on many college campuses cannot be so readily dismissed. They were more adequately faced by Prof. Ralph W. Aigler, of the University of Michigan, in his report for 1923:

> It must be realized that a real problem of policy is involved in connection with these stadium programs. What should be the aim? Should provision be made, not only for the members of the university groups—students, alumni, faculty, etc., but also for any and all of the public who happen to have the price of admission? . . . Our intercollegiate athletic events, particularly football, have come to be more and more spectacular contests for the delight of sport-lovers generally and the socially inclined, which means that in turn the primary object for such contests has been more and more shoved into the background. The larger the percentage of these outsiders, inevitably the greater the danger of unseemly and unsportsmanlike displays on the part of the spectators. Most of the cases of disorder, fortunately rare, are attributable, it is believed, to the more or less professional sport followers, probably gamblers.
>
> Then, too, the vast sums of money that are handled by reason of these large crowds have given rise to other problems

> and dangers. There is no need to dwell upon the natural temptations which arise when these immense sums, so easily procured, are available. There can be no question but that universities must supervise most carefully the expenditure of these funds. Fortunately, for a good many years to come, a very proper outlet is available in the way of improvement of general facilities for physical betterment of the student bodies.

From the viewpoint of social utility, the freezing up of one or two million dollars in a stadium which can be used only a few times a year, is at least in need of some justification. As a senior at a men's college remarked, "It is absurd to have an enormous stadium and no library." When once a stadium has been erected and the bonds issued to pay for it have to be paid off, the pressure upon the college authorities to tolerate any practices which will draw "capacity crowds" and net large receipts is well-nigh irresistible.

The necessity of meeting huge expenditures not infrequently dictates the making up of the season's schedule of games. Some rivals may be taken on because of academic ranking, but more often the choice depends on which combination will probably draw the biggest crowd.

Not a few municipalities have seen in intercollegiate football contests star attractions for their stadia. It is greatly to the credit of college officials and of coaches that some of the most tempting offers from municipalities have been declined. When the Navy and the University of Washington teams finally consented to play at the Pasadena stadium, they did so on their own terms, the stadium being taken on a rental basis (Report of Prof. L. J. Ayer, 1923). Speaking for the New England institutions, Prof. C. W. Mendell, now dean of Yale College, said, in 1924, that the colleges were opposed to such games as that played in Cleveland between East and West to help raise funds for the municipal stadium, because this was felt to be a subtle form of commercialization. In the South, college stadia are still few; hence Professor Sanford wrote:

> As long as we are dependent upon football gate receipts with which to conduct our whole athletic program—intercollegiate athletics, intra-mural sports and physical training—just so long must we play our games in cities. It is not commercialism; it is necessity. Let the colleges furnish the funds and the games will be played on the campus.

Several professors friendly to athletics have called attention to the subtle dangers growing out of so much "easy money." One of them at a large eastern university said:

> I don't worry over the size of the crowds, but I am worried over the alumni insistence on winning and over the free use of money. This leads to an overpaid coach, proselyting and building up too big a football budget, for such things as taking moving-pictures of rival teams.

In one institution the receipts from football in one season exceeded the total regular budget for all the academic departments, and yet there was no accounting for the funds to either the trustees or the public, and the little group in control resented any attempt at investigation by the college authorities.

The inflated salaries paid coaches are repeatedly referred to. Although Purdue University was not included in this inquiry, the words of the Faculty Committee on Improvement of Scholastic Attainment at that university are pertinent to this point:

> We pay the coach a salary beside which those of even our more able and experienced professors are ridiculously small. For this exorbitant sum he works a fraction of the year at the job of developing a team which will be able to out-play the teams of other colleges. . . . The retention of his . . . splendid salary depends upon the measure of his success. He is not concerned with the several thousand other students who are not in the team.

At a mid-western university the salary of the coach was, until recently, larger than that of the president and nearly twice as high as the average salary of the faculty. A medium-sized men's college in the East, however, has never paid a football coach more than a full professor's salary. The knowledge that their high-salaried jobs depend on their turning out winning teams tends to put many coaches under severe pressure to resort covertly to whatever practices may seem necessary to produce such teams.

A number of experienced athletic leaders and university administrators hold that the basic remedy for all these tendencies toward extravagance and monetary standards of success is to be found not in any ingenious device, but in the displacement of the "win motive" by the ideal of uncommercialized sport and play for all; but they hold that next to that, a predominance of administrative and faculty men on boards of control, with ample student representation, would go far to reduce evil tendencies.

PROFESSIONALIZATION

Within this term are included the various methods used to evade the plain definition of "amateurism" by the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

The main points are thus stated in Article VII:

> An amateur sportsman is one who engages in sport solely for the physical, mental or social benefits he derives therefrom, and to whom the sport is nothing more than an avocation.
>
> It stands for a high sense of honor, modesty, fair play and courtesy. It stoops to no petty technicalities and refuses to twist or avoid the rules of play, or to take an unfair advantage of opponents.

The following acts are considered violations of amateurism:

> Competition or exercise in any sport under an assumed name, with intent to deceive.
>
> Directly or indirectly receiving pay or financial benefit in consideration of, or as a reward for, participating in any sport in any public competition or exhibition, or disposing of prizes for personal gain.
>
> Directly or indirectly receiving pay or financial benefits in consideration of, or as a reward for, instructing or appearing in person in, or for, any competition, exhibition or exercise in any sport.
>
> Intentional violation of the laws of eligibility established by the educational institution of which he is a member.

In common parlance, the things which these rules are intended to prevent are: the proselyting of players from secondary schools or from other colleges by means of financial inducements, such as "scholarships"; the evasion of eligibility rules laid down for players by a man's own institution or by athletic conference; the taking or offering of graft and the playing for money under assumed names, especially during vacations. As a rule, eligibility requires a certain fair scholastic standing, a one-year's previous residence at the institution, and an amateur status. Many colleges also stipulate that no player can represent them in an intercollegiate game if he has previously represented another institution. This cuts out "athletic migrants." Opinions given in the interviews as to whether these rules were well or ill observed seemed to be rather evenly divided.

The eligibility rules seemed to be generally approved in principle, but the inquirers found coaches, presidents, faculty men and students alike pretty well agreed that the evasion of the rules was one of the most baleful influences at work in intercollegiate athletics.

The director of athletics at a medium-sized coeducational institution made these illuminating statements:

> I had only one case, during the past year, of a man writing in asking us to pay him for athletics. I had many immediately after the war. Last year, four men left us. I have no evidence outside of the talk of the fellows that these men were paid. I believe our biggest trouble is that of proselyting for high school players. —— is employed by this college to travel in the summer and see the boys. Of course, other colleges have similar representatives. This makes a hero of the boy, since the colleges are bidding against one another for him. I believe it would be better for all of us to leave these boys entirely alone. Such attention turns their heads. For example, I had one lad last year who transferred to another university because he was not getting the attention he felt a basketball player like himself deserved. He was a good lad and a splendid player but he had had his head turned.

At one of the universities commonly reputed to stand in the front rank in athletic ideals, two athletes agreed in this statement:

> There are still many fellows who get around the rules. Athletes can always count on better consideration than other fellows at the scholarship bureau. Easy jobs paying three and four dollars a day are kept for them. They are sometimes paid a dollar an hour for addressing envelopes in the registrar's office. The swimming coach winks at proselyting if friends and alumni propose to support likely men.

The foregoing admission was substantiated by a man on the track team at a men's college who gave his own institution a clean bill of health which the inquirers believe was close to the facts:

> Studies are first here and athletics second. No favoritism whatever is shown a crack athlete. He has to pass his exams and make his grades like any one else. I think it is harder for the athlete than for others. In a track team of four men not long ago three could not run because of low grades.
>
> Other colleges offer good money to fine athletes. For instance, a friend of mine was offered a thousand dollars a year to play at —— but flunked in English, so could not go. *In some colleges an athlete never flunks.* It is common for

athletes to flunk here. Some of our profs. seem to have it in for athletes.

The students seem to feel least compunction about evasion of the rules, for their moral sense is warped by "college loyalty" and by the example of certain alumni and coaches. The Purdue Faculty Committee report puts the issue clearly:

> The average individual does not appreciate the real evil of professionalism in college athletics. He sees nothing inherently wrong in the acceptance of money for playing, any more than in accepting compensation for any other kind of legitimate performance. Why, then, should faculties make so much noise about it? The fact is, that mere playing for compensation is not, in itself, wrong, but the admission to the university of students who are financed because of their athletic prowess and because of their ability to round out winning athletic teams, cannot do otherwise than result in disaster to our educational program and to its standards of scholarship.

Professors and students, in one of the denominational colleges visited, told of the demoralizing effect exerted on the whole college by the well-known complicity of the president in raising money from alumni and lending it to athletes at the rate of $250 a year for four years, without security or interest. Regarding this affair, a faculty member said:

> The sinister thing is that the president, leading daily chapel and a yearly "revival," does not seem to appreciate that this unethical procedure undermines every religious intention of the college. The faculty are very angry about the whole matter.

After giving some instances of proselyting and the stealing of players, President H. H. Apple, of Franklin and Marshall College, observed, in articles summarized in the *Literary Digest* of October 10, 1925:

> They must get money and in order to get money they must draw huge crowds, and to get the crowds they must have winning teams. It culminates in the insatiable hunt for players, to the detriment of other legitimate college purposes. Most undergraduates take this situation as a matter of course.
>
> I believe that there is thus brought about a definite demoralization of the student body. Here and there, serious-minded students see what is happening. But they are voices crying in the wilderness.
>
> I admit that there is rarely a case of plain graft on the part of those who function in this intricate machinery.

> Coaches and managers probably earn what they receive—if we are to view this from the business viewpoint.
>
> But a term similar to graft might be coined to cover the illegitimate, or at least questionable, use of money to support the athlete, corralled from the high school and carried through college.
>
> What do the "scouts" and the "Uhlans" do? It is not only a matter of finding the desirable boy, but of convincing him that his pay will be higher in their particular college than in any rival institution. The offers are freely made and generally carried out with a gentlemen's agreement—indeed, the pay is usually supplemented generously in the case of those who make good.
>
> It is this purchase and pay of players which is so vigorously opposed by those who have at heart the welfare of the boy, as well as the integrity of the college and the good of the game.

All of the officials interviewed heartily agreed with these strictures; but attention was called to the fact that it is exceedingly difficult to draw the line between legitimate and illegitimate recruiting of promising athletes from secondary schools.

The inquirers visited several prominent institutions where, so far as could be learned, an honest and unrelenting fight was being waged against this practice by all the athletic leaders. But athletes at two of these institutions told the inquirers that alumni who grew up under a laxer régime were "still playing the same tricks under cover."

It was, nevertheless, agreed that conditions were gradually improving and were notably better than they were fifteen or twenty years ago. One graduate manager said he "could name fifty colleges where there are no scholarships of a doubtful nature." Great credit is due the coaches and managers who have courageously opposed such practices.

On the other hand, in too many institutions the old evils persist. The whole system hangs together. Winning at all costs, swollen expenditures for athletics, commercialization, however concealed, dependence on gate receipts and stadia make a vicious circle which only radical measures can break through. The case was aptly summed up by Dr. Angell in his report, already quoted, in these words:

> Men who play for motives other than love of the game, men to whom victory, however won, is the controlling end, are men already on the road to professionalism.

INTERFERENCE OF ALUMNI

It would be unfair to make the alumni as a whole the scapegoat for the ailments of intercollegiate athletics. Among the alumni are many of the strongest supporters of clean, generous sportsmanship, and the most constructive workers for higher standards. One graduate manager paid this deserved tribute to such alumni:

> I think the graduate sportsman type is more apt to have a keen appreciation of the significance of amateur standing than any other class.

Testimony received, however, left no doubt in the minds of the inquirers that an aggressive minority among the alumni is at the bottom of much of the proselyting and commercialization. There are probably alumni of all the colleges who would gladly make their own these words attributed to an old football player, returning to harangue the squad before the big game with their chief rival:

> "What are you here for?" he asked the players. "To study and play football," replied one. "No, you're here to beat ——. That's what you were born for. That's all you need ever do."

As a college president put it:

> Too often in their zeal in behalf of the college or their community, they engage in activities in support of their particular college to a degree which finally results in alumni rather than faculty control.

At a small coeducational college a professor lamented a similar tendency:

> We have had a very fine spirit in athletics, especially in our intercollegiate relations. I fear, however, the pressure of the alumni to employ a highly paid coach will commercialize our athletics and destroy the former fine spirit.

The pressure brought to bear on some administrators by alumni was illustrated by the remarks of the president of a large endowed coeducational university:

> I am grappling with the problem of athletic enlargements here. We recognize the necessity of increasing all campus contacts and are convinced that intra-mural athletics are very valuable. Intercollegiate athletics also, if properly controlled, have power to aid in the development of character. I am trying to work out the proper proportional development of grand-

stands and their construction. Pressure is on from the alumni and certain men of large means to make stands very great and to develop a much more elaborate athletic system.

An influential alumnus of an endowed university not included in this study said on reading portions of this chapter:

> We have just had an example of how alumni block the cleaning up of athletics. Our athletic director was made a member of the faculty, and given a professor's salary. But recently another college, or its athletic leaders, offered him a job with twice as big pay. He didn't want to go, but the salary pull was hard to resist. Our administration wouldn't of course yield on the principle at stake. But some alumni, under cover, fixed it up so that he isn't losing much if anything by staying. This is known only to a few.

According to the deliberate judgment of Prof. W. R. LaPorte, in his 1924 report to the ninth district of the National Athletic Association, the college authorities could, by concerted effort, change the attitude of interfering alumni:

> The alumni problem itself needs very careful scrutiny. The statement that a good alumnus is a dead alumnus is, unfortunately, true in too many cases. A large percentage of the most acute problems in modern athletic administration can be traced to the well-intentioned, but poorly directed alumni activities. If possible, this association should direct its energies toward reducing the hazards connected with athletic competition due to alumni interference. While it is often claimed that colleges cannot control their alumni, it is certainly reasonable to assume that college graduates are amenable to reason, and that a concerted effort on the part of the many institutions included in the membership of this association might well bring about a great change in the attitude of college alumni the country over.

PLAY TURNED INTO DRUDGERY

The sports writers who use the terms of the arena and the battlefield are supported by a good many of the football players themselves. They are frank to confess, in the words of a student, that "Football has become much more a business and a dead grind than a pleasure." A player told why:

> There is no sport these days in playing football. I enjoyed football in prep school, but I only play in college because I am expected to play, all for the glory of the game. It would be fun if we could laugh and play and joke during practice, but this is "taboo." You have to take it seriously. You get

"bawled out" for fumbling a ball or making mistakes. This takes all the fun out of it. Minor sports, however, are a lot of fun.

The irony of the matter was piquantly brought out in an editorial which appeared in the Chicago *Tribune* on November 6, 1925:

> Thirty-five members of the Chicago football squad sat in the presence of Coach Stagg, some professors and five hundred alumni Wednesday and learned that the only important crisis in human events that ever has been or ever will be is the game with Illinois tomorrow. This is Armageddon. Others have been and will be spurious.
>
> Mr. Stagg was a figure of tragedy. His boys were good boys, but something had been wrong with the team. Maybe it was the coach; maybe it was the plays, but he was afraid it was the spirit of the players. He had heard that before the Pennsylvania game Kernwein was singing. A player was taking the game as lightly and joyously as that. He must have been happy. No player should be happy before a game. "That's not my way of doing things," said Mr. Stagg. "I get down on my knees when I have a job and I pray hard and I keep praying, everlastingly praying, until I do my best!"
>
> Football isn't a sport. Tennis may be. Baseball may be. Track athletics may be. Rowing isn't. Football isn't. A Yale stroke died of grief the summer after he had collapsed in the boat and lost to Harvard. A Yale player fumbled the ball at his goal posts and lost to Princeton and for years after graduation did not return to any reunions at school.
>
> Football in American universities is life's most serious business. It can sink all the graduates into the sea of despond or put them up on pink clouds.

The contrast between exhilarating play and such a travesty on play as the "gruelling, hammering torture" which many a football man undergoes for two months, preaches its own sermon. This is not to deny the intense satisfactions which a player often gets, but these generally come later, and largely because of the acclaim and prestige that are his. The question naturally arises, why not restore collegiate football to the ranks of genuine play alongside of tennis and soccer and baseball, instead of condemning its votaries to voluntary servitude for the greater glory of the clan?

PARTICIPATION RESTRICTED TO A FEW

As a foil to the contention that intercollegiate athletics benefit the mass of students by carrying them out of their petty personalities until they are gripped by a larger loyalty, a university daily editorially stated the limitations involved:

> Even the plea that intercollegiate sports promote the health and physical development of the students in general has become a manifest absurdity. Only the strong, the well-nigh physically perfect man, can even hope to become a member of an athletic team, and on his training all the resources and equipment of coaches and trainers are expended. Yet the athletes are the ones who are least in need of further physical development. These coaches and trainers have no time for the weak or anæmic student, who must, perforce obtain his exercise by sitting on a bench and yelling encouragement to the husky gentlemen who are playing the game for him. Thus, in order perhaps to promote a little unnecessary laughter among the high gods, we devote our energies to strengthen the strong, and leave to the weak the pleasure of congratulating themselves on having such doughty champions.

The same thought was expressed by another university daily:

> We admit that intercollegiate football has some benefits, but these accrue chiefly to the players themselves in the form of physical development and the inculcating of the spirit of team work. The effect of intercollegiate football upon undergraduates as a whole, however, seems to us of far greater significance than its effect upon the comparatively few players who participate in the sport as it is now conducted.

The dean of a state university also based his opposition to intercollegiate athletics on the fact that the "actual participation in sport is limited to the very men who do not need it." The Purdue committee said:

> A department of work, which could and should be of enormous benefit to the physical well-being of our students and thus, indirectly, to their scholastic success, is diverted into an excessive degree of specialization with an almost negligible minority of men.

A college alumnus, who became a Y. M. C. A. physical director, wrote:

> It has always seemed to me pathetic that a little narrow-chested freshman has to pay his $25 to the athletic fund in

order that some great, husky athlete might have a better training table during the football season.

"We need more play and less teams," was the comment of an influential senior in a college for men.

It may be said with truth that the development of intra-mural sports is going far to right the one-sided tendency of varsity teams to develop only a small number of picked men. Yet "spectatoritis" still remains. Many thousands get their exercise vicariously. "Artificially stimulated excitement, shouting until hoarse and waving of pennants are a poor substitute for the exhilaration, the purging of body and mind, which come from play and recreation with congenial friends," is the way one educator painted the contrast. Colonel Arthur Woods, speaking in 1921 before the National Collegiate Athletic Association, called attention to the same danger in these words: "Are we not running into a tendency to resolve the college body into a small group of performers and a large group of heelers?"

EMOTIONAL INTEMPERANCE OF NON-PARTICIPANTS

During the big games the bulk of the students who sit on the bleachers not only forfeit play and exercise but are frequently subjected to excessive nervous excitation. The effects of the football cult on the mass of undergraduates are by no means all bad. The unifying and ennobling power of a cause that swallows up petty personal aims and troubles in devotion to the glory of the whole is not to be overlooked. But the emotional intemperance witnessed at each recurring football season is considered by some specialists to be a serious liability. Backing up the team is identified with loyalty to the college. Stinging epithets are applied to students and faculty members alike who fail to bow the knee to the idols of the gridiron. Psychologists see in the process some of the arts which the political or religious revivalist employs to arouse crowd hysteria. As though there were not already a surplus of mob-mindedness among American youth, all the devices of mass-excitation are employed—"pep" rallies, songs, cheers, marching with banners, fierce insistence on loyalty to clan interests and avowed scorn of opponents. As an athlete at a large university laconically admitted, "In football season we are all crazy. I know for I had charge of the 'pep' sessions."

An athletic manager at one university declared that such methods were no longer tolerated at the older institutions:

> There are only a few remnants of that sort of thing except at colleges where sport is still going through the "measles age." It is considered "all wet" (childish) at the older foundations. Try to get up a "pep" rally at one of them and see! Years ago I have seen 3,000 students get up early on Sunday morning and go down to meet a returning team. You couldn't get a corporal's guard to do it now.

Nevertheless, in practically every male student body the football season is marked by a rising tide of emotion which at its height sweeps off their feet all the students but a hardened and perhaps cynical remnant. Nor is the excitement confined to a few isolated occasions. It is assiduously worked up throughout the autumn, rising from mezzoforte in September to fortissimo in November. One former player summed it up by saying:

> I used to eat and drink football for two months every year. We all went mad together. But I don't want my boys to do the same. The game is all right, but the worked-up fever of intercollegiate set-tos is all wrong.

Confirmation of the views here presented is found in the pronouncement of Committee G on this point:

> The overexcitement about football develops gradually through the autumn. At the start it is largely confined to Saturdays, but as the season goes on it becomes more and more intense and infects more and more of the students' time. On the days of, and preceding, the final games it is fairly to be designated as hysteria. It is particularly bad in the case of intersectional games and games with traditional rivals. It attains its greatest absurdity in the "pep sessions," which exist ostensibly and in part actually to "put fight into the team," but chiefly to vent the overexcitement itself and at the same time to cultivate it to still further intensity. It is at its worst in connection with football trips to other institutions. It culminates in the madness of the yelling mob at the game itself. Such overexcitement is in itself a bad thing for intellectual balance and morale.

Prof. Stewart Paton, of Princeton, the eminent psychologist, in commenting on the conference of eastern students assembled at Connecticut Wesleyan University in December, 1923, to discuss football abuses, was reported in the *New York Times* as observing that the national football hysteria not only threatens scholastic interests, but that "the root of the evil lies far deeper and is concerned with the actual effect of the game on the mental life of the players and of the whole student body supporting them. It is be-

ginning to lower the mental life of American universities to the dead level of mediocrity."

How many alumni add fuel to the flames of undergraduate excitement and excess was told by an editorial in a university daily:

> "Football all too often brings to the fraternity house alumni out for hilarious rejuvenation who bring liquor with them and drink together or with undergraduates," assert Committee G in their admirable report, which continues, "Football all too often brings to the fraternity house visiting brothers whose fraternalism demands plentiful moistening." Diogenes, himself, could have found in this no hint of exaggeration. A football game at home is a wonderful excuse for a few old-time drinking bouts, and a football game abroad serves the same purpose, with the added pleasures of disporting oneself in a football train.

The whole process tends to change students' standards of value. The orthodox devotees look upon a game, alleged to be played for sport and recreation, as an event comparable in momentousness with the Battle of the Marne. To treat it lightly is sacrilege. Yet, there is a growing minority of students who refuse to be meek conformists. One such protestant thus irreverently relieved his feelings editorially in a university paper:

> We are tired! We are tired of the everlasting blah blah about a winning football team. We are tired of having a football coach who trains forty men and receives as large a salary as four instructors who teach one particular subject to six hundred students. We are tired of this stadium bunk whereby 50,000 spectators watch 22 men—or rather, employees—battle for supremacy.

DISTORTION OF IDEAS AS TO THE PURPOSES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

It has been well said [3] that "the overexcitement lasts through the football season; the distortion of values lasts throughout the college course, if not through life." This distortion affects not only the student body but the general public, as Dr. Angell aptly observed in his report:

> A kind of athletic octopus has fairly engulfed many an institution, distorting its primary functions in the public eye and poisoning much of its own inner life.

A director of athletics at an endowed coeducational university pointedly observed:

[3] Report of Committee G, *Intercollegiate Football*, p. 224.

> The alumni take too much interest in a winning athletic team. If they would take one-tenth the interest in the professors and in what the college is doing in an educational way, we would soon have a wonderful school. Somehow, we need to develop loyalty to the school in other lines than athletics.

President Karl F. Wettstone pointed to the exploitation of athletics in advertising schools to the public:

> As one scans the pages of school advertisements in the leading national magazines, it is difficult to decide whether these schools are conducted for the purpose of developing big muscles or great minds and greater souls. In one of the leading magazines 34 per cent. of the school advertisements put the athletic appeal first.
>
> An Iowa college which is making a drive for a thousand new students, in its appeal, gives 85 per cent. of the space to athletics, while the only school building displayed is the beautiful gymnasium.

In trenchant phrase similar points were driven home by President C. A. Richmond:

> For the general public to demand that the colleges shall turn aside from the purposes for which they were founded, and shall be subjected to excessive sacrifices of their academic interests in order that they may furnish a Roman holiday for the general public—that is a demand that the public has no right to make of us and which no self-respecting college has a right to consent to.
>
> It is a matter of wonder to me, that is, to an innocent mind like mine, how a college of two or three hundred men can put out a football team that will defeat a college of four or five thousand without paying a price that a college founded presumably for academic purposes has no right to pay.

Another administrator, friendly to athletics in general, even more emphatically protested against prostituting the college to satisfy the public:

> I do not believe there is any obligation on the part of the college to furnish the general public with substitutes for the circus, the prize fight and the gladiatorial combat.

Another angle of the situation brought to the notice of the inquirers by faculty members was the distraction of the attention of students and the upsetting of academic schedules:

The dean of a state university spoke on this subject:

> With the growth of competitive athletics as the ideal, the game has become a spectacle which influences the thought and time, not only of the team, but of all students, prior to and after the exhibition day. Home-coming, for example, is one of the greatest evils introduced into college life. It constitutes a tacit permission to students to knock off a week or two previous and to take a week or two afterwards to recuperate. There is a general feeling that a teacher has no right to expect work prior to and immediately following this time. The same thing happens with all the other big games.

A student in an eastern university for men agreed:

> In the first place, football games, whether at home or out of town, do inevitably lead to a neglect of college work. Absence from the campus before and after a game, failure to do assigned as well as optional work, and a general lackadaisical attitude in class, are common attributes of the latter part of the football season.

The natural result of making studies periodically play second fiddle to athletics is to make "many students who might really become leaders in human society fail to attain the normal and desired and needed development of their potential leadership—through failure to acquire and to develop the habits of hard thought and hard work, and through failure to realize the fundamental, pressing needs of human society and the beckoning opportunities for meeting those needs." [4]

Although the general opinion of these interviewed who referred to the effect of athletics on scholarship seemed to be that the two lived together quite amicably, the authors are inclined to think that this complacency is due to failure to conceive of education as an organic unity embracing physical, social, æsthetic and religious no less than intellectual development. Their view was shared by the chairman of the Athletic Board and of the Faculty Committee on Eligibility at a men's university:

> We are trying to use athletics so as to get values from them without disturbing the real purpose of the university. That is, the development of the fellows in character and in mind. We know that the fellows need physique and the hang-on spirit. It is this hang-on spirit that is contributed by sport and gives sport its educational value. While of course we want victories, our purposes run far beyond victories. Therefore, we emphasize, primarily, the character of the man coaching the teams. Our second objective is to make sport

[4] Report of Committee G, *Intercollegiate Football*, p. 225.

popular. That is, get all of the men in the institution in the sport. We provide coaches for the men who have been dropped from their squad, regardless of their ability, and keep the coach for them as long as they desire to play at all.

Only a small minority of the faculty have any realization whatever of the value of athletics and play. One of our great defects today, which hampers the students, is that the majority of the faculty haven't the remotest notion of the educational value of athletics. Consequently I believe the biggest problem in the college life today is that of redefining the purposes of the university or college education so as to take full account of other things beside mental training.

If one of the purposes of a liberal education is to inculcate tolerance and appreciation it is pertinent to ask if intercollegiate football as generally conducted contributes to that end. A professor, who used to be a football star himself, said on this point:

> Many of the games I have played in and watched have engendered partisanship and depreciation of opponents. The idea of sport as the English hold it is displaced by the zeal for victory. Overwrought students and sports writers describe the game in the terminology of the battlefield, not of the playground. It is war, not play, and in war the liberal sentiments seem strangely out of place.

"The tendency to exalt football prowess above all other kinds of excellence," which was mentioned by several witnesses, insensibly lowers the respect in which intellectual pursuits are held by the student body. The point has been forcefully developed by Committee G:

> Broadly speaking, the tendency is to exalt football prowess above all other kinds of excellence. A prominent member of the team becomes the object of a continued hero-worship such as is not accorded to any other college student. He may or may not be a man of personal excellence. It is not his personality, but his spectacular athletic prowess, which is the cause of the admiration. This distortion of values is, of course, greatly increased by newspaper publicity and by manifestations of predominant and excited interest in football on the part of alumni and the general public. The enormous financial outlay involved in the maintenance of football creates in the undergraduate mind a false sense of its importance. The financial rewards available at once to the successful player who turns professional are such as to unsettle ideas and ideals. The sheer physical size of the stadium dwarfs the significance of the library, laboratory, and lecture-hall. A notable illustration of this distortion of values is

> the fact that the activity of undergraduates in getting high-school students to come to college, so far as it is organized and coherent, seems to be exclusively concerned with the rushing of athletes, primarily football men. The result of all this is inevitably that other types of excellence sink in the relative scale of student estimation; and that the student standard of values loses touch with the fundamental purposes of college education.

It is surprising that the adulation and disproportionate attention lavished on the football stars do not give more of them the "swelled head." The possibility that the extravagant importance attached to a contest may blight a football player's entire life has been pointed out by Committee G:

> The members of the team are received by and proceed to play amid the tumult of thousands of wildly excited voices, and are thus confirmed in the sense that they are engaged in an event of enormous significance; that their playing will incur the intense approval or disapproval of the masses of spectators; and that the joy or gloom of these hordes depends on them. It is not right that any youth should be subjected to so abnormal a strain. As Heywood Broun says in the New York *World* of November 5, 1925: "It is not fair or wise for a 20-year-old boy to be put in a position where 70,000 may see him blunder. A man might very well spend forty years trying to live down the stigma and, worse than that, the inner conviction of dumbness because at a critical point in a big game he called for a line plunge when a forward pass would have been better."

It seems to the authors that unless sober pronouncements like these by men who are in favor of properly regulated intercollegiate football are ruled out, the obvious conclusion is that some radical limitations must be made, if the colleges are to have a fair chance to fulfill their purpose of giving an intellectual and social as well as physical education.

CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS

The authors believe that the last thing that educators as a whole desire is to reduce the total volume of physical activities in the colleges; they do desire to have that volume more evenly distributed and especially to lop off the parasitic growths connected with intercollegiate athletics.

At one extreme, there are a few colleges that have deliberately

excluded all intercollegiate athletics (among these are Reed, Antioch, Berea and Stevens Institute of Technology) and they profess themselves happy over the results. Others may follow suit. But for the most part it is considered to be a question of regulation, not excision. The University of Dubuque, after a period of exclusion, recently reinstated intercollegiate athletics.

The remedial measures supported by various athletic authorities and administrators are here summarized.

MAKE FACULTY CONTROL PREDOMINANT

A former all-American quarter-back and football coach at Yale, Mr. Arthur Howe, now of Taft School, declared:

> The trustees and faculties of our colleges did not take the helm soon enough, and now the athletic club (intercollegiate athletics) has become a giant, they are striving to bring him back into the bonds of reason.

The basic principle has been well stated by Dr. J. R. Angell in these words:

> The great issue seems to me fundamentally one of principles and the really basic one is the readiness of the college to accept full responsibility for the entire education of its students; only subordinate to this is the importance of its recognition that, as heretofore conducted, many of the features of our athletic system have been not only disastrous for the man who competed, but that their reflex effect on the great mass of the student body has been lamentable to a degree.

The necessity for the predominance of faculty members on the board of control was urged by Dr. H. N. Randall of Rutgers:

> All institutions claim to have faculty control, but this undoubtedly exists in varying degrees. It seems very doubtful, where boards are made up of representatives from the faculty, undergraduate body and alumni, in equal numbers, whether the faculty can have the balance of power. Actual faculty control can exist only where eligibility depends on scholastic standing and on the decision of a committee, a majority of whose members belong to the faculty.

The recommendation of the large body of university professors represented by Committee G is clear-cut:

> The responsibility for the educational welfare of our college students lies primarily with our faculties, which have therefore the right and the duty to determine under what conditions any college activity should be carried on. Faculty

action should therefore be taken in this matter. And since the coöperation of faculty members and administrative officers is always highly to be desired, and since in this particular matter many administrative officers on whom pressure in behalf of football is being brought from outside sources would presumably welcome faculty reënforcement, such faculty action should be taken only after informal conference with administrative officers.

MAKE COACHES MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY

The unfortunate effects of leaving coaches on a commercial salary basis and letting them occupy a special status, practically independent of the administration, are widely recognized. Coaches, in the opinion of the authors, should be appointed regular members of the faculty and should be chosen with as great concern for personal qualities as for technical ability. Their pay would then follow the ordinary scale and their status would serve to emphasize the essentially educational nature of their work. The conventional athletic coach tends to subordinate everything to winning points. This attitude was beautifully illustrated by the American golf champion who gratuitously advised British golfers that if they wanted to beat Americans they "must make the game work instead of mere sport." To such a mind the value of pure play and the educational attitude toward all forms of sport are idle talk.

Classic expression has been given to the foregoing principles by Dr. Angell:

> We must recognize that physical education stands in the closest possible relation to moral education. . . . We must recognize that *bona fide* recreation, sheer preoccupying fun, is an essential feature of the best régime.
>
> The college preacher is in many colleges a recognized institution and his place is justified largely on the ground of the need of the undergraduate for moral leadership and instruction. . . . But the successful coach or athletic director exercises a far greater moral influence over the average college man than any but the most exceptional preacher can hope to do. Moreover, it is an influence which the ordinary college professor can justly envy. If, then, education has as one of its main objectives, character, as we are fond of saying, let us recognize the fact that no single member of the faculty is so likely to contribute a deep and lasting influence to the college generation as the head of the athletic department.

Instead of advocating faculty status for football coaches, the Intercollegiate Parley on College Education[5] favored graduate coaches. They adopted this resolution:

> We would also inaugurate the following rules within the colleges:
>
> 1. That graduating coaching systems be instituted, and that no coach be paid a salary beyond that of a professor; and
> 2. That coaches be not allowed to sit on the players' bench during the game, but that captains alone direct their teams so that undergraduates would be playing undergraduates and not coaches playing coaches.

Committee G emphatically dissented from this solution and stated its reasons as follows:

> We dissent specifically from the Parley recommendation of a graduate coaching system, and favor instead a faculty coaching system. The coach should be a man of requisite ability having the type of influence suggested above . . . ; if he has such ability and influence, it makes no difference whether he he is a graduate of the college in question or not. A graduate coaching system means in-breeding of policy, which is as bad in athletics as in any other phase of college education. A graduate coaching system lends itself also to the danger of alumni control, effective if not official.

MAGNIFY INTRA-MURAL ATHLETICS

The sentiment of all kinds of witnesses was practically unanimous in favor of laying greater stress on play and exercise for all. One point of disagreement was whether the provision for women in coeducational institutions should be made as adequate as that for the men. At present, the disparity is striking. It is probably responsible in considerable measure for the small number of women participating. For example, in one state university at the time of this inquiry two-thirds of the men but only one-tenth of the women were enlisted in voluntary physical activities, whereas in colleges for women where the provision was adequate, a majority of the women participated.

For the most part success in intra-mural athletics seems to depend on providing competent supervision and ample space and then so readjusting the class schedules as to ensure free time for all. The graduate manager of athletics at a large coeducational university made some sensible observations on these points:

[5] The Parley met at Wesleyan University, Connecticut, in December, 1925, and was attended by undergraduate representatives of twenty-odd Eastern colleges.

The administration provides for both intercollegiate and intra-mural sports—that is, casual sport. But the university does not provide the hours in daylight when all of the boys can play together. That is, some university classes run until 5 P.M. making it impossible for a few lads to play with the balance. I would desire the stopping of all classes at four-thirty and everybody playing from four-thirty until six. In short, I would have the university recognize sport in fact as well as in theory. I believe in the Oxford system and that every healthy boy wants to play. Directed play is the greatest social, physical and moral thing one can do.

In the college age, the least possible organization and direction are desirable. Generally speaking, all you need is the place and the equipment. The boys do not want to be bossed around by a university hired man. All they want is a field in shape with equipment.

The phenomenal achievements possible with a small budget have been demonstrated by many institutions. In 1924, Prof. Thomas E. French, speaking for his district, said:

Each of the Conference institutions in this district (the fifth) has a full-time director of intra-mural athletics, assisted by clerical help and a staff of student managers. From twelve to twenty-three different sports are scheduled and supervised, leagues organized, officials assigned and equipment provided. Compared to the amounts spent in intercollegiate sports, the budgets for intra-mural expenses are comparatively small. Ohio is spending this year $13,000; Minnesota, $11,000; Michigan, $10,500; and others from $7,000 down to $3,500. As to what can be done with such appropriations, Ohio may be taken as an example. Two hundred and fifty regularly organized basketball teams started to play their scheduled games this month. Last spring, in baseball, ninety-four teams played through the season, while 2,000 men competed in track athletics. Altogether, including names counted twice, there were last year 14,829 participants in nineteen different sports. Seventy-seven per cent. of the total enrollment of men took part in intra-mural athletics. In March, each year, for the past ten years, an indoor festival has been held. Last year there were 2,400 entries with an attendance of 4,500 paid admissions.

There is no attempt to recruit for the varsity teams from intra-mural teams. Indeed, on the other hand, there has on occasion been complaint from the coaches that men of varsity caliber have become so keenly interested in intra-mural competition that they do not come out for the teams, as varsity men are barred from the intra-murals.

Evidence of a less hopeful tone was heard from the heads of departments of education at two of the large coeducational universities who said that they would be glad to have all intercollegiate atheltics greatly curtailed or even abolished and replaced by an ample program of intra-mural sports, but that they were under such pressure from various quarters that they felt powerless to do much about it.

It is generally agreed that one of the chief merits of intra-mural sports is their freedom from the win-at-any-price spirit. Yet some prominent athletic directors maintain that intra-mural sports would die unless stimulated by the intercollegiate competitive games and the lure of the varsity teams as baits to keep men working on scrub teams in the intra-mural games. The success of intra-mural sports at certain institutions which do not have intercollegiate competition refutes any such sweeping assertion. The authors believe, therefore, that a safe working conclusion for the present would be that intra-mural sports are educationally sound and financially cheap, and that they give promise of reducing some of the chronic evils of intercollegiate athletics.

LIMIT THE PERIOD OF PARTICIPATION

The one-year limit to participation in intercollegiate football has been strongly advocated by Dr. Edgar Fauver, professor of physical education and college physician at Wesleyan University, Connecticut, and has been approved by a number of other physical and academic authorities. The proposal, however, seems altogether too drastic to practically all the students whose opinions have been learned and the authors advocate the two-year rather than the one-year limitation as a compromise which would eliminate the worst abuses. A fair appraisal of Dr. Fauver's proposal requires a reading of his entire exposition of it,[6] but the following excerpts contain the main points:

> If the rule was generally adopted that any given individual could play only one season in each sport, and that after the freshman year, it would seem to me that certain results would necessarily follow.
>
> 1. We would protect individuals from over-participation, inasmuch as it would be impossible for them to play three years on a team and perhaps three years on two or three teams. . . .

[6] *The Intercollegiate Parley*, pp. 23-27.

2. It would multiply the number of men who are getting this unquestionably desirable training.

3. Such a regulation would allow able athletes to spend more time on their academic work.

4. It would be utterly impossible for newspapers to carry on such publicity regarding individual players as is the case now. . . .

5. We have a great deal of professionalism in our college athletics through the award of what is sometimes known as athletic scholarships, but which I call wages, through payment of expenses, by alumni, chambers of commerce, and other organizations. With the one-season rule and a full freshman rule, I think that most individuals and organizations would hesitate to pay the expenses of a player through some big preparatory school, and then his way into college, in the hope that after he had been through one year, he would be eligible for varsity competition for one season in a given sport.

6. Unquestionably more men would be kept in active training because they would feel that if they did not make the team their sophomore or junior year, they would have ample opportunity to make it in their senior year, since the stars of their sophomore or junior year would last but one season.

7. There undoubtedly would be, as a result of this one season of training, a number of seniors who played as juniors and are therefore ineligible to play in their senior year, who could serve as coaches in the development of the various undergraduate teams.

8. If all the colleges did this, the teams would be on the same relative basis as at the present time, and we all know that the average undergraduate or alumnus or man of the world knows little or nothing about what is going on on the football field except that the ball goes up the field and down again. If men were allowed to play one season only, the same thing would take place and the finer points of the game would not be missed by the average individual who does not see them at the present time.

Finally, it would seem to me that we might once more get back to a system, as a result of this arrangement, of judging a college on its educational work instead of by the number of football victories.

This proposal was editorially approved by the *American Physical Education Review* (XXVIII, 1923, p. 259):

If a conference group of colleges adopted this rule it would mean that the standard of play would be somewhat lower but the competition should be equally close and the contests practically as interesting. It would mean that three times as many men would have the opportunity to gain whatever benefits

> there are in participation in such sports. Alumni or other interested citizens would scarcely pay an athlete's expenses in order to give him a chance to play one season in his second, third, or fourth year. Most of the extravagant publicity for individual players on the sporting page comes after the first year of successful competition. This would tend to be mimimized and the college athlete would be less likely to feel his importance unduly.

The proposal was also heartily approved by Committee G in these words:

> The plan has also the great special advantage of linking intra-mural and intercollegiate athletics in a natural and effective way.

President Hopkins, of Dartmouth, has declared himself in favor of the two-year proposal, limiting participation to sophomores and juniors, but allowing more men to compete by having two teams from each college engage in parallel games.

REDUCE THE NUMBER OF GAMES

The Wesleyan parley specifically recommended that each college should schedule "only four games each season, each game with a team in its own class and in its own vicinity." Among the advantages claimed for this proposal are that it would reduce publicity and excitement; the necessity for spring and early fall training would be removed; the term of distraction of undergraduate attention from academic work would be shortened; the commercial aspect would be minimized; and many teams, instead of a few, would remain undefeated. The proposal received only the qualified endorsement of Committtee G because it considers that the Fauver plan for limiting participation is more satisfactory. It says:

> Adoption of this plan would greatly improve the general situation. This plan, like the Fauver plan, would tend to correct the disadvantages listed above. On the whole, however, it seems less promising than the Fauver plan in two respects: (1) College excitement and newspaper publicity both center very largely around individual players and develop chiefly in connection with the second or third year of performance; consequently the Fauver plan, which eradicates the second year of performance, would obviate these disadvantages more effectively than the Parley plan. (2) The Parley plan does not provide for an organic relationship between intra-mural and intercollegiate athletics.

So far as the inquirers have learned the leading collegiate athletic boards and conferences are not adopting any limitation of the period of participation but are tending to reduce the number of games.

CONCLUSION

This review should have made it clear that in athletics titanic forces for both good and ill are playing upon students. The evils which have been described are serious, but apart from the pervasive vice of winning at any cost, the chief evils are connected with intercollegiate football, and even in its case, remedial forces are seen to be at work. Some of the encouraging signs were well expressed in these remarks of an experienced graduate manager:

> While it is true that stadia building, larger crowds and larger income constitute a new element which has appeared in the last five years, nevertheless those same five years have marked, very distinctly, the growth of intellectual interest and independence on the part of undergraduates, a separation of alumni from athletic administration, the vast increase of intra-mural sport, and a better sense of relative values on the part of the undergraduates.

The coöperation of students and the development of an intelligent undergraduate opinion in support of progressive policies are most desirable, but may require time, for the students are too completely immersed in the process to look at it without prejudice. Under all the circumstances it seems clear that prompt and aggressive steps can be initiated, only by those who can take a wider, more dispassionate view of the situation; that is, by the teaching staff and the administrators, both academic and athletic.

Chapter V

THE RELATIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN

It has often been remarked that the daily press gives a distorted picture of life because it emphasizes the unusual, the abnormal. In somewhat similar fashion the witnesses who spoke about relations between men and women students seem to the inquirers to have dwelt principally on practices which they considered questionable or bad and to have said little about the normal, wholesome contacts between the sexes.

SUMMARY OF CRITICISMS

In the large amount of testimony received on relations between men and women the practices most frequently criticized were connected with conversation, smoking, social drinking, modern dancing, "petting," and sex relationships.

CONVERSATION

To mature outsiders the undergraduate conversation which they overhear seems immature and self-centered—"You and I," and "he and she," the "swell" time at the last dance, this or that sorority or fraternity, the end run at the game, the last movie and the next "date." Prevalent as such conversation is, it often represents the "table talk" of those who are afraid as yet to trust one another with their deeper feelings and interests. The pose of sophistication and smartness keeps much of the conversation on the basis of "small change." As acquaintance deepens, the more serious interests are more apt to find expression.

A professor of English in a college for women had this to say:

> The girls tell me that it is necessary for them to have a "line" in their talk with the men; men do not wish to talk sensibly, and so the girls become insincere in their foolish chatter.

A woman student in a large coeducational university, declaring that "most girls talk 'dribble,'" continued:

> Go and listen to the conversation. This is one reason men "pet." A man dated an attractive girl, found that she did not want to use the brain in her head, she was not out for intelligent discussion, and therefore he found other means of passing the evening.

A senior woman student, an attractive club member, in another large coeducational university, said:

> Three years ago I made up my mind not to go to any more fraternity parties. There is always the same thing, a little dancing, a little gin sometimes, and the usual line of talk. Many of the students who go would be very stimulating friends but that isn't the thing to be at a fraternity dance; there is no place for cleverness and wit. If you continue to go to these parties you get nothing out of them in the way of new experience. It is much more pleasant to be in the company of boys who are willing to express ideas and to discuss their interests outside of "dates" and "petting."

SMOKING

The general practice of smoking among women students appears to have taken hold chiefly in the eastern states in the wake of the war, and to have spread gradually to the west. The practice seems to be most prevalent, however, in institutions located in cities or composed chiefly of students from the cities, and to be affected by the traditions and the methods of supervision in the particular institution.

So far as the testimony and the observations of the inquirers go, smoking by men and women together is relatively rare, except at proms and other special affairs. But smoking by women among themselves was referred to by so many witnesses that a few excerpts will here be presented.

Three faculty members described the situation at a medium-size college for women:

> Smoking is forbidden at college, though many girls think nothing of indulging in the practice in other places.

> Smoking is forbidden by the student government rules, not as a moral issue, but as unbecoming. Three girls have recently been dismissed from college, the trouble arising over smoking. The dismissal was not on the grounds of smoking alone, but because of violation of rules regarding it, and a tissue of lies built up around the act.

> The attitude of the student toward smoking, drinking, and "petting" is just what she brings with her from home; some

frown on all of them, others accept them. The surprise of an English lady visiting here this winter was great at learning of the rule against smoking, and she said it could never be carried out in England.

A dean of women and a senior student in a small college for women spoke as follows:

> I asked all those who smoked to come into my office. I was appalled at the number—about forty. We talked it over and decided that it was wise to cease doing it while at college. Now there is no smoking in the dormitories and there is no rule against it. It is a matter of public opinion.
>
> At present there is no problem of smoking. The students were told that if the trustees knew there was smoking on the campus they would not coöperate in the endowment fund drive, so all the girls have given up smoking on campus.

SOCIAL DRINKING

Hostility toward the Volstead Act, prevalent in some urban circles from which a considerable proportion of the students come, has been brought by them to college. The attitudes of the fraternities and sororities with reference to liquor vary widely in the larger universities, and from institution to institution, and are apt to change rapidly. The testimonies presented below fairly well accord with the observations of the inquirers.

The situation in certain of the larger coeducational institutions is first described. A dean of women said:

> Boys of fair social standing, good but reckless, accustomed to have liquor at home and to hear their parents oppose the Volstead Act, are sent to college with the admonition, "Don't drink," and yet they carry their flasks. Girls going with them get some sense of adventure and deviltry in drinking and easily get fuddled. Observers not knowing it is an occasional foolish lapse, quite as disgusting to the perpetrator as anyone could wish, are shocked.

A woman student in a large coeducational university said:

> A good deal of drinking goes on. Some fraternities won't pledge a man unless he carries a flask. Only once in a while do intoxicated boys come to a sorority house. Some go to —— Inn. The parties are usually very respectable but the university students are asked not to go there because of the gambling and drinking going on in the back room. Some girls drink with the men. If one of the sorority sisters drank she would be asked to leave the sorority.

A senior man, a member of a publication board at a coeducational university, told of the tendency to drink at dances:

> There is plenty of bootleg liquor here but drinking is more or less dying out. The last Saturday night trolley car last year and the year before was pretty rotten. Now they are better. I frequently come up from the office late at night. There are fewer drunks coming home from town at two o'clock than there used to be. So far as I know there hasn't been a blind tiger in town in the four years I have been here. Some students like to drink. We have always had wine at home and I have lived quite a bit in Paris. I drink, but I hate the present method of having to do it as it were "behind the back fence." It isn't worth the candle.
>
> It seems to be a generally accepted principle that a dance is the time to drink. If a man has been drunk three times, you may be sure it was in connection with three dances. The all-university dances are a pretty good substitute for the commercial dances where there was a great deal of drinking.

A number of instances were encountered of prolonged drinking parties by men alone, but drinking parties by men and women together seemed to be comparatively rare.

The attitudes of many women toward men who drink were brought out by a dean of women in charge of a dormitory:

> Generally, the girls disapprove of men who drink. One girl recently said: "The man I was with last had been drinking; I am not going with him or others like him any more here. It does not make so much difference at home, where I am known, and where my parents can look after me, but I do not know the men here well enough to run any risks." At one dance it was reported to the dean of men that liquor was offered to the women, but not one took it.

The head of a woman's hall in a large coeducational university declared that there was "little or no drinking among the girls, and quite a sentiment against the men drinking." She continued:

> Recently a man taking a girl to a dance at the Union was found to be intoxicated. The girl left him to phone a high-school chum, asking him to come and take her home. When her dance escort the next day offered profuse apologies, saying it would never happen again, she told him there would never be another opportunity for him to subject her to such embarrassment. Twice freshmen have left dances and come home to the hall because they discovered their escorts had been drinking. Many girls do not have the stamina to take such a stand, but they are improving in this respect, and there

was general comment from the girls on the lack of drinking among the men at the fraternity dances following the big college game.

The situation in a smaller coeducational college was thus commented upon by a prominent fraternity senior who played in a dance orchestra:

> The dances here are very clean. There is no drinking at all. Only the rich men can drink and we are not rich. Probably a dozen men in the whole college drink. It isn't tolerated at dances. House dances are clean. The papers say that college dances are rotten, but they are better than society dances, as I have seen them in my playing. It is always a few who make the trouble anywhere, with their crazy dance steps and their getting drunk.

Segregated colleges presented striking contrasts. The testimony seldom referred to drinking by students at women's colleges. One witness stated that at her college "last year three girls were expelled for drinking." There was a little testimony, however, revealing indulgence in this practice by women from women's colleges when at men's college proms and similar out-of-town functions.

At colleges for men there were, in the years just following the war, certain junior proms that were described in the testimony of eye-witnesses—faculty and students—as "disgracefully wet." It was chiefly for this reason, in fact, that the conventional junior prom was completely abolished in several colleges, or materially altered in character.

The worst occasion of which the inquirers heard was thus commented upon by a professor, a member of the discipline committee in a college for men:

> The prom three years ago was very shocking. Many chorus girls were here. There was much drinking in automobiles and apparently many couples had immoral relations. No one knows, of course, the details of this sort of thing, but one college girl whom I know found another in the dressing-room so intoxicated that she didn't know her own college mate. There is only one way to correct this sort of thing and that is by sentiment among young people themselves.

The improvement in recent years was attested by these testimonies from institutions for men:

> At the last prom I did not see an intoxicated fellow on the floor, but did see some in the locker-rooms. Some fellows bring chorus girls. The fellows tend to bring their "second best" girls. There is too much emphasis here on going to dances and on going to —— and —— to parties. The coach remarked the other day that —— men had gone girl-crazy.
>
> The last prom was the best I've ever seen. Three or four fellows who generally have drink at dances cut it out and told me, "My goodness, sober is the only way to do. You have twice as much fun."
>
> Drunkenness is strongly frowned on, but there is no sentiment for strictly observing the eighteenth amendment.

MODERN DANCING

Dancing is the chief social diversion of college men and women. The "modern dances" had developed in the colleges to a considerable degree before the war and following it they spread rapidly. There seems to be no doubt that they were accompanied by social drinking and a large amount of "petting" both between and following the dancing periods. Faculty members say that these practices reached their climax in certain junior proms such as those already referred to, in the years 1919 to 1923, and that since then conditions have gradually improved. This judgment is borne out by what the inquirers saw and heard in the course of this study. They found the authorities almost everywhere concerned about the public dances, and at a few places these have been rigidly restricted. It is impossible to make comparisons between the different types of institutions, beyond saying that the dances at the colleges for women and the medium-sized coeducational institutions were considered by the inquirers to be better supervised and freer of excess than those at other institutions.

The authors believe that a fair cross section of conditions in the institutions visited is reflected in the following testimonies:

An assistant professor in a large coeducational university gave evidence of improvement in tone:

> Dancing has improved greatly since the war. Then cards had to be handed to persons indulging in improper forms, warning them that if they did not desist, they must leave the floor. This is no longer necessary.

Social life in many institutions is "a four-ring circus with sideshows," but no more highly developed situation was found than

was described by a junior, a member of the prom and student government committees at a large university:

> Every one of the sixty-nine fraternities has been allowed four dances a year. The inter-fraternity council has cut this down to two a year. Then there are four dance halls, two run by —— Union and the other two privately operated. Each class has two dances a year. All of these have to be chaperoned. I think the dean of women picks the chaperones. These affairs take up the time of the student, but are not bad otherwise. There seem to be a lot of "petting" parties at houses, whether sorority or not, "necking" as they call it, and lots of it. I do not know much of sex immorality. You seldom see a girl smoking. I have never seen a drunken man in this town. They take great precautions against this. —— is working against the liquor difficulty and most fraternities have rules against drinking.

The difficulty of controlling the very large dances is illustrated by this observation of a senior student, a fraternity member, in a large coeducational university:

> Conditions are better since we cut out the all-university mixers. Last year some 800 couples attended, 400 girls and 800 men at one. They were very hard to manage. The stags drank and that promoted the picking up of girls. If a man picks a girl up he is much more lax in his relations with her. He has less respect for her.

That college dances are better than those he knew at high school was the opinion of a prominent student in a large coeducational university:

> There is not very much drinking, and the dancing is all so much better than high school that it seems very good. Student orchestras are used. The music, I think, is entirely jazz.

A visitor from out of town, an alumna of an eastern college for women, described one of the customary dances at a large coeducational university:

> This was a dance on a week night in a hall built for students who come to dance. There were about fifty couples present the night I went. The dancing was clean and the music not unusually "raggy." Girls wore simple afternoon dresses. There were no moonlight waltzes or softened lights. The custom of the students is to dance until ten, and then stop on the way home for refreshments.

A senior woman student on a publication board and student government committee, characterized social life in another coeducational university as "abundant, with the chief amusement dancing, of a good type." She continued:

> There is some smoking, though the spirit of the S. C. A. is against it. Most girls do not approve of the men who drink. "Petting" is at a minimum.

A sophomore student, a woman, told of inexpensive parties:

> The men and women have jolly times together. I especially enjoy the free parties given weekly by a near-by residential hotel when all the boys and girls get together for a good time. About thirty couples are usually present, mostly club and fraternity people. These parties are a great invention because the boys never have any money. On the whole there is little drinking and the girls aren't too silly.

Co-eds were preferred in one large coeducational university, according to an upperclassman:

> There are 2,000 juniors, but we can accommodate only 400 couples at the junior prom. We shuffle the cards and let them draw. The price is $3.50 a couple. There are booths, but students do not need to pay for them. There are three dance halls, two of them controlled by the university students. They charge one dollar a couple. The student halls are less successful than the others. Co-eds are preferred.

The inquirers believe that a fair judgment on current tendencies was given by a student at a coeducational university who conducted a well-known dance orchestra:

> I play two or three nights a week. I see a good many dances and believe that a comparatively small number of couples dance with any evil-minded attitude. No large per cent. dance improperly. Of course, they dance very close, but I don't believe they do it with the wrong attitude. They have to, to keep the dancing rhythmic.
>
> As to the music, some fraternities like the blare music. The sororities, in general, like the higher grade music. The better music is gradually becoming more popular. Of course, I like it better myself.

Some supervision of dances was exercised as a rule by the deans or the faculty. The nature and effects of the supervision were described in the following testimonies:

A professor in a medium-size coeducational college told of an exceptional degree of control:

> In general, dances stop at 10:30. However, the dances of the senior boys, the junior hop, and the sophomore hop, are run until midnight. As chairman of the committee on student life, I can say that dancing is absolutely in our hands. We can control it and keep it on a high plane.

In certain institutions, there were under-cover affairs which the inquirers attributed to the recoil from excessively strict supervision and the failure of the authorities to exert themselves to provide enough social events. Such "sneak" dances were referred to by a senior student in a medium-sized coeducational college under conservative denominational influence:

> There is "sneak" dancing in the town. It is pretty well known by the faculty but they hardly even frown upon it. Our family had a dance for some college people at the country club. My father is a member and he and my mother were chaperones. The children of the president attended it. A great many parties are held at —— hotel in —— and the president is up a tree. His own children were at several dances at —— also. There were not chaperones at the —— dances, nor are there any chaperones at the "sneak" dances in the town. —— [a university officer] sprung a snap quiz, concerning proposed changes, and as I recall it, there were 578 for dancing and 76 for strict enforcement of the present rule against it.
>
> There is a good bit of "petting" by the engaged couples, but very few girls have to be sent home. The women are subjects of discussion at the fraternities.
>
> Last year a good many of the football team were known to go to —— [a neighboring town], where the fast women are. This was found out at a football game.

A junior student in a college for men described the chaperone system of a near-by college for women from which girls came to dances:

> Every fifteen girls from —— have a chaperone from their own college. The students also have a committee of seven seniors in college appointed to look after drinking and conduct at dances and parties. This is a good influence. A week ago the chairman of this committee gave a speech in chapel regarding conduct at the coming prom. He said he was not threatening but that the committee expected the prom to be clean.

In a college for men where the students alone were responsible a senior said:

There is no faculty regulation of dances or social events. Entire responsibility for the number of dances and so forth rests on the students and they generally keep good order. There is some sort of dance open to almost any one who wants to go every Friday and Saturday.

"PETTING"

Testimony touching "petting"[1] was abundant, and the inquirers agree with the majority of those who spoke on the subject in considering it to be widely prevalent.

Two students, the first a man, the second a woman in a large coeducational university, analyzed the complex of influences of which "petting" is the most noticeable result:

> Fraternities and social life are more important here than athletics. Dancing is in a more satisfactory condition than in the high schools. The girls who come here from high schools where conditions have been bad improve during their residence here. There is a small group of literati here who say "down with conventions," but the average morality is high. The tendency to "petting" has to be recognized as an expression of human nature. There are too many moral rules and conventions. Girls who come from boarding-schools fly fairly high at first but soon get oriented. The most important ties are home training and religion to keep the students straight. Some students lose faith and morals also through the teaching of philosophy in the university. Some girls are careless and cannot resist temptation. They lack inner control. Others with a good family back of them are helped by it. Too many men look on women as prey. The Victorian ideal of womanhood used to prevail and it made for reserve. Bobbed hair and short skirts make a man less of an idealist. The high-school fraternity is apt to be a danger point. The present reliance of mere boys on older ones for their examples leads many astray. They lose their hesitancy and go ahead. Girls when dancing come in too close. This is dangerous to men and women also. Modern literature has also much to do with it.

> Few do rash things. Cases of physical disaster are practically nil, though I feel sure the auto is a menace to college life. "Petting" has always existed but just suddenly has been given a name and is done in public. That is all the difference from yesterday.

[1] The authors consider it unfortunate that the word "petting" has been extended in such a way as to stigmatize all forms of intimacy, the wholesome and honorable as well as the dangerous.

The head of a women's hall in a large coeducational university pointed out a difference between men and women:

> Girls are not intellectually ignorant of sex matters. They are ignorant of life, and inexperienced. They fail to realize the significance of "petting" and often unwittingly play with fire. They are unaware that they are not playing fair, because they don't know that what to them is mere innocent enjoyment may have serious implications for the man.

A member of the Senior Council in a college for men implied that "petting" was due to the infrequent opportunities for meeting girls and the consequent desire to crowd emotional satisfaction into a short time:

> Naturally enough, there is a lot of "petting" at the time of dances. We have to make up for lost time. There have been scandals in the past, but none this year, though there have been several terrible scares.

An assistant professor contrasted the nominal chaperonage with the actual "petting" in a large coeducational university, drawing special attention to the facilities provided by the automobile:

> Parties have official chaperones who sit laboriously all evening, then go home, while couples get into the automobiles and go on "necking parties." There are certain girls who go wild with the men. It's easy to spot them.

A prominent senior woman, a member of the honor system committee in a large coeducational university, pointed out some of the underlying factors:

> Men are very dependent on one another's estimate of a girl. Some fraternities black list girls for being obviously "a speed," too giddily dressed, or lacking sex attraction. Among the majority a "petting" party is the right thing to do. Some more exclusive club girls and some independent girls object to this type of social life and go out with men on a different basis. It is the unusual girl who can do this and still make herself attractive to men; the average girl cannot. There is polished, shrewd immorality here. People who object to immorality fail to hit the sex question at the core, fail to recognize that it is a natural instinct. They try to crush it, instead of quieting it.

The dominance of sensible attitudes in two colleges for women was described by an instructor in hygiene and by a professor:

> Relationships with men have bothered a good deal at times and it is hard to avoid "petting" troubles. Certain groups of

men from —— and —— [two men's colleges] come here definitely for "petting," and a certain small group of girls stand for it, although three-fourths of the student body would back up the council in maintaining high standards. There are doubtless many who would "go the limit." In general, the girls are very conservative, and those who break over here have done so before, though there is little organized public opinion. This is one of the lacks in our life. I regret there is not more opportunity for simple contacts between the sexes here.

While "petting" is far too common, some of the prettiest and most popular girls do not permit it and they set the standard. The prettiest girl in the senior class is known to be very strict in the matter; she is very highly regarded on the campus.

SEX RELATIONS

Next door to the problem of "petting" is the delicate question of the degree of pre-marital sex relations that exists in student life. A considerable number of young people to-day find it difficult to answer the question, "Why wait till marriage?" In the presence of insistent desires they ask, "If this is a normal impulse, if marriage is unavoidably postponed, if knowledge of contraceptives makes sex relationships physically safe, if the world in general is reconstructing its moral codes and its standards with respect to monogamy, why should postponement be necessary?" This sort of reasoning inevitably relaxes the restraints for a certain number of students.

The extent of violations of traditional standards of sex relations is impossible to state, for it is the most secreted element in life. The inquirers view with caution the estimates and the alleged statistics of those who pretend to know. They believe that the testimony of a senior student in a large coeducational university probably leaned slightly to the alarmist side:

I think the sex situation here is very serious. It goes back to the prosperity and the lack of refinement and standards throughout the state and life in general these days. In my own fraternity less than a fourth had ever had sexual intercourse. One of the students took statistics on this in the fraternities. However, the man who did indulge in this vice was accepted on a par with the balance of the group. All the cases I know of, except one, were with non-university girls. In my four years at the university I have never heard of more than five cases where university girls were involved.

A certain amount of evidence bearing upon the use of contraceptives by students was received. The sale of these by drug stores in several university communities and their purchase by students were verified.

A single instance was reported to the inquirers by responsible city officials, and was verified in joint conference with them, of the peddling of contraceptives on the campus of one university by a fly-by-night salesman from a neighboring city. He was apprehended, tried, convicted, and sent to prison, his stock of ten thousand being confiscated and destroyed by the police. No verifiable evidence as to the extent of sales by this individual among students could be secured although several alarming estimates were made. A leading physician in the same community, whose practice was largely among students, knowing of this incident, considered it as wholly exceptional and affirmed his belief, based upon his practice, that the use of contraceptives was limited to a small portion of the student body. Similar testimony was received from other physicians in other college communities. On the other hand, an experienced woman physician, an authority on social hygiene, widely acquainted with the colleges, testified that she had discovered discarded contraceptive appliances on several campuses.

In a number of institutions the attention of the inquirers was drawn to a few cases of immoral relations which had been made the subject of official discipline. The testimony of the physicians consulted, both in health departments and in independent practice among students, has convinced the inquirers that irregularities involving student women are extremely rare. Their impression is distinctly less favorable with regard to the relations of a minority of student men with non-student women, but the field of exploitation has shifted in recent years in the direction of clandestine relationships with supposedly decent women.

CONCLUSIONS

Most of the moot points in the foregoing relationships and practices are mentioned in the following remarks of a distinguished sociologist, who combines an intimate acquaintance with student life with insight of a high order:

> The queer dances have lasted ten years. I figured they would last only three but they are still going. That shows what a poor prophet I am. Parents are soggy these days.

The new freedom gets away with them. They don't like it, but they don't know what to do.

I feel that the new freedom cuts into the inherent fineness of young people and hurts it. I don't see how we can set up pre-marital freedom for women, like the Marquesans, and get away with it. I belong to a little group, eight or nine faculty men, and we talked over, at a recent meeting, the results of postponement of marriage, when sexual puberty is reached at fifteen or sixteen, and no gratification is possible until twenty-two to twenty-six, and society ignores this sexual strain that young people are under. It constitutes a very real difficulty. That taboo is breaking down considerably. I don't know where we are going to pay for this. All nine men were stumped as to where we were going, but, I am glad to say, there wasn't a dogmatic word or a flippant word spoken by any one in that group. All of them realized the seriousness of the situation and wondered if the present laxness would mean permanent breakdown.

I charge a great deal to the movies. You cannot fill the minds of boys and girls with such strenuous sex interest, taking off the bedroom doors, and presenting pictures of excessive affection, without a great deal of danger and bringing them to maturity, with reference to matters of sex, earlier than they should. They see the kissing and the clinching and these predispose their minds dangerously. Then, too, the dancing, as now practiced, is exciting, the jazz music is exciting. The modern bathing suits are scant. I feel that we are beginning to get the legitimate harvest in all these things of the breakdown of the home. Older people are being run off their feet. I am very pessimistic about the situation. We simply cannot go to the basis of the South Sea Islands. The girls, however, so far as I am able to judge, by their demeanor in the classroom and where I see them elsewhere, have not been damaged. Their public appearance is certainly all smooth and gentle as could be.

The money morals of young people are better these days, and they do not cheat so much in examinations. They are not yellow. There is no correlation between the sex problem and yellow attitudes. The sex taboo has been largely broken. I do not know how far the consequences reach. Are we really headed toward a social decline? With regard to new possibilities in irregular sex relations, I don't know what to say. Birth control is necessary for married people, but I understand the point of view of the Roman Catholics—if one group in the community has it, the others will get it.

There are certain types of control in which I believe. I would never allow children to go to movies of the ordinary sort, in which sex is exaggerated. It is no way to produce healthy minds. Dancing, in which clinching is expected, ought

> not be tolerated. The chaperones are not making good. They don't know the thing they are up against. The only real forces of control are the interior forces. I believe, too, in early marriages.

Prevalent collegiate methods of controlling association between men and women, as found by the inquirers, vary all the way from stern prohibition to *laissez faire*—equally futile extremes. In one coeducational institution, for example, no student man is supposed to speak to a student woman after six o'clock in the evening without special permission, "even at the post office." This may be termed a vestige of the drastic age continuing into the plastic age. At the other extreme, dead-letter regulations are violated with impunity and conditions develop which are beyond the knowledge and control of those in authority. Supervision acts as a provocation rather than a safeguard, if impersonal mechanical rules are imposed upon the highly personal situation and no constructive means are provided to give wholesome outlet to intense feelings and desires.

RELATIONS BETWEEN SEXES BY TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS

The relations between men and women have now to be considered as affected by such basic factors as the following: the size of the institution, the nature of its student personnel, the type of the institution, whether for men, for women, or co-educational; in the case of institutions for men or women the proximity of other institutions for the opposite sex; the location of any one of these types in a large city, or in its own smaller community; the varying proportions of men and women within coeducational institutions; and in all types of institutions the attitudes of well to-do students, the traditional morale and the kind of supervision of the relations between men and women.

The most available thread on which to unravel the complex situations here considered is the type of college, whether for men or women or coeducational. This study was not intended to decide the relative merits of segregated education and coeducation, but such opinions as were expressed on the subject indicate that neither the advantages nor the problems are all on one side.

SEGREGATED INSTITUTIONS

The men's colleges and universities studied in this inquiry were: Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Amherst, and Wabash. Some reference has also been made by the witnesses and by the inquirers to conditions in other men's colleges.

Distinctive differences in size and location are noted on the chart in the Appendix. From the point of view of the feminine associations of the men in these institutions it is important to recognize the following facts: Yale is in a large city within easy access to New York City. Princeton, while in a small community, has easy access to New York, Philadelphia, and Trenton. Amherst, in a small community, has easy access to Smith and Holyoke, colleges for women. Dartmouth is comparatively isolated in a community largely of its own making. Wabash is located in a small city of approximately 10,000. It is also noteworthy that Yale, Princeton and Dartmouth were founded in the eighteenth century and Amherst and Wabash in 1821 and 1832 respectively. They may properly be said to represent the historic American view that higher education for men should be in separate institutions.

By and large those who favor the plan of institutions for men alone hold that it has stood the test of time and produced strong bodies of alumni; that it frees the student body from the interference of continuous social life on the campus, thus making possible better academic work, as well as simplifying administration; that it provides an atmosphere conducive to manly qualities, and finally that associations with women are made infrequent and take their place in the realm of private affairs.

The colleges for women studied in this inquiry, with the dates of their founding, were: Mount Holyoke (1837), Rockford (1847), Smith (1871), Wellesley (1875), Randolph-Macon (1891). Of these, Rockford is located in a medium-sized city, Rockford, Ill.; Smith College in a small city, Northampton; and three in small towns, Randolph-Macon in Lynchburg, Va., Mount Holyoke at South Hadley and Wellesley at Wellesley, Mass. The size of the enrollment and other features will be found in the chart on page 368.

The presuppositions upon which these institutions rest are somewhat as follows: the segregation of women in special institutions facilitates their closer supervision and protection, provides an atmosphere of greater refinement, facilitates the special treatment

of feminine interests, makes possible better academic work, and tends to develop woman's initiative, leadership, self-respect and group morale.

The observation of the authors has been that, irrespective of segregation or limitation, college students will insist on a certain amount of association with the opposite sex, and that the more spasmodic that association is, the more likely is it to attain an abnormal intensity. The following testimony as to the effect of proximity to a college for the opposite sex is selected for quotation:

A leader in physical education at a man's college said:

> This college is particularly clean because of the nearness of two women's colleges. There are nearly 3,000 girls within ten miles. The nearness of such fine girls is a splendid thing for the men.

A professor in the same college was not so impressed by the advantages of this situation:

> The men have come to care greatly for social life. The women's colleges being so near assist this. It would be interesting to know the large number of —— men who have married —— and —— girls. The result is that boys who ought to be struggling on teams are developing tea-table habits. This college is "dance mad." I believe it would be better to put emphasis on athletics than on the sophisticated dance.

Another professor balanced the pros and cons:

> The nearness of —— and —— colleges affects our life here a good deal. Some of the boys are kept from their duties by over-visiting the girls and this is a nuisance. But this is more than balanced by the chance of meeting splendid girls—the best in the country—under good circumstances. For young men, if they can't go with the best, will run with the worst. The nearness of these colleges keeps down the running round with bad women.

An administrative officer in a large college for women located in the neighborhood of several colleges for men showed how inter-collegiate social life gravitates to an urban setting:

> Students here have no difficulty in finding masculine society: the woods are full of men; they come from four colleges. Students cannot leave the college without a chaperone after the 6:30 train. However, they crave the freedom of going without chaperones, and frequently visit an "aunt," a college mate of mother's, or some one else, then go from there where

> they please. The college is helpless to check this, but is striving to make equitable adjustment. Almost every Saturday evening the college sends a chaperone to —— with a group of girls, to stay at some good hotel, from which the girls go out to theatres or dances.

In contrast to the excerpts just given, there was testimony to show how insistently men in an isolated institution demand social relations with women, and also how women as well as men are prone to certain unfortunate tendencies if social satisfactions are meager.

A senior student in a college for men said:

> This place is not over-developed socially. We have three or four big events. The Winter Carnival is predominantly outdoor sport, with one evening given to the ball. A few fellows go on "pee-raides," that is, week-end trips to the girls' colleges. A limited number go to dances in surrounding towns. But the number of students that get out of town, even twice a month, is small.

Another senior reported:

> The reason our men get such a bad name away from here is that they are cooped up for months and when they get away and are free, they just raise hell. About fifty went to the summer session at —— and stuck together and had a great time. They did a great deal of drinking.

A Christian Association secretary considered that "separation from good women is very hard on the men":

> They get crazy to have a change and blow up either with booze or roughhouse every few months. I know just how they feel. That explains their exuberance when they get to —— or ——, or other places. Unless they have good girls to go with, they are apt to get bad ones. This latter, of course, does not apply to any very large number.

A professor in a college for men declared:

> Isolation results in an unreal idealizing of women, which is dangerous. In a coeducational system the men and women work together and form much more normal acquaintances and relationships than here.

This idealization of women is true only of a part of the men. With others the unsatisfied desires for association with women find substitutes, instead of sublimation, in "smut" sessions, or drinking bouts, or "cave-man" attitudes.

The inquirers believe that authorities in segregated institutions should consider whether it is not their duty to provide opportunities for normal association between men and women. The considered opinion of more than one alumnus, confided to the authors, is that while the costs of failure to make such provision may not be apparent during the college years, they are frequently exacted in the later life of the students.

Some excerpts of testimony follow that throw further light on the shady side of the relations of students in men's colleges with non-student women.

An administrative officer in a university for men gave a vivid picture of the demoralizing influences playing on students:

> I think the girl question here has been aggravated since prohibition came on. The most serious difficulties here arise from men who go automobiling with questionable girls and take along a quart of booze. The line between good and bad women has broken down, and I think it is very largely the fault of the girls.
>
> With some men improper relations start early. A boy from one of the big preparatory schools told me how he was started by the members of his society when he was initiated at fourteen or fifteen. The boys have a terrific situation framed up on them with women careless in matters of dress and attitude. Many —— girls of a low order invite men to go with them on the street. The situation at ——, the amusement resort, is as bad as ever. A lot of data was obtained on it during 1918-1919, and it was very rotten. Boys have been taken out of hotels there and expelled from college, though there is for the most part little college effort to check up on the place directly. One of the worst features here now is in connection with roadhouses which have sprung up around this part of the state, and which are frequented by men and women in automobiles. I think the supply of liquor which is sold very freely here in the city is responsible for a good deal of the sexual immorality.
>
> The worst problems are the girl problem and the booze problem. I look on the first as the worst, because, while they are related to each other, I think that booze is largely a fad. The drinking bunches up mostly at week-ends when the bootleggers get to them, and men have a secret drinking party in their rooms.

A professor in a university for men, a member of the disciplinary committee, expressed the opinion that the woman question was "very bad as compared with former times":

> In the old days when a bad woman came on the campus the boys hooted her off. In recent years there have been women on the campus and in men's rooms for immoral purposes. I can't say how much of it. There was one particularly disgraceful incident. The boy was fired; but the boy who reported on this incident was ostracized by his fellows, in spite of the fact that it involved the good name of —— in a very serious way.

A prominent senior in a college for men pointed out that comparatively few men were involved in loose conduct:

> In the spring a good many men go to ——, and flocks of mill girls come here on Sunday afternoon. Fraternity men get drunk in these —— dance halls. Such immorality as there is, however, is concentrated in a few men in a few fraternities. The non-fraternity man is cut off socially and is apt to go to —— and —— amusement-park dance halls and to —— on Saturday nights. They are all afraid of disease and child birth.

It is not surprising to learn that these problems are aggravated if the institution is in a city or within easy reach of a city or of amusement resorts.

Association with local high-school girls, although said to be exceptional, readily lends itself to undesirable relations. An exceptionally bad situation was reported by a woman officer of a municipal institution in a town where a men's college is located.

> The house parties at the fraternities are the worst features of the college and town. Not once, but many times, they keep high-school girls out all night. The mothers don't know what is going on, or they would never allow their daughters to attend these parties. I called upon one of the mothers to remonstrate against the situation and the mother would not hear about it. She said that she would not interfere with her daughter's affairs, that her daughter was old enough to take care of herself. What we need is a new generation of mothers. Two of our girls were arrested by policemen for immoral relations in the back yard of a college fraternity. I went to the policeman to get an account of the case. I asked one of them what he had done. He said he had taken the girls to their homes. I asked him what he had done with the boys. He looked sheepish and said he had done nothing. We have had no coöperation from the police in this matter. They seem to take it for granted that the boys' behavior is only "college pranks." Recently I appealed to an officer of the college and he promised coöperation. The college administration here has not the backbone to discipline any one and since we

get no coöperation from the mothers we have a difficult situation.

The secretary of the city Y. M. C. A., in a college town gave glimpses of questionable practices by some of the students:

> The boys practice pinning their fraternity pins on young high-school girls. I don't believe this is for nothing. A crowd of students rushed a theatre while a rather bad show was in progress, with a lot of show girls. They tried to take the girls out bodily. A regular fight between stage hands and students ensued, with a number of the college boys being beaten up as well as the stage men. The police seemingly will not arrest college boys and the college faculty, so far, have taken little notice.

By way of contrast, some testimony is presented to illustrate the opinion of those who hold that coeducation has a salutary influence in preventing men students from running after non-student women.

A faculty member in a coeducational college said:

> I believe the situation is better in a coeducational college than in a college for men only. It gives the boys women of intellectual interests to associate with. If we did not have these girls here, the men would pick up girls of all sorts from the community.

A student in the same college remarked:

> The sex situation is not bad here. Some men go to neighboring towns to dance halls and a small amount of clandestine immorality exists. The presence of good girls on the campus keeps most men straight.

A senior who was an athlete and a fraternity member in another coeducational college spoke in a similar strain:

> There is very little sex immorality. At the dances last year some bad girls were brought in. The single prom was changed to three less pretentious dances, in November, May and June. The presence of good women on the campus tends to keep the men straight. If the college were to exclude the women students, I believe that prostitution would result. The presence of good girls is very valuable.

The problem of wholesome relationships with the opposite sex was found also to exist in women's colleges where college men were not accessible in adequate number for social relations. Incidentally, it seems that local men are much less in favor as escorts

than students from other colleges. A faculty member, in an isolated women's college said:

> One of our big problems is to find men who may be invited to the college. The dean's standards are pretty exacting, and she enlists many to help her make the lists. She sends out her lists to be scanned by a dozen or more men, bank presidents and others. The chief of police and his force are great helps, as they know if any on the list have ever been apprehended for drinking or patronizing houses of ill fame. Moral cleanness, not social prestige is the main point.
>
> The social problem is a great one here, but excellently met as far as it can be. It is unfortunate that girls have to turn to high-school boys for escorts, and plenty of gossip results.

The following description of life at a college for women reveals the somewhat pathetic efforts made by women who are denied opportunities for normal contacts with men.

> The social life gets very monotonous. It is a continual repetition of the same thing, informal dances monthly, a freshman prom in February or March, an upperclass prom in April, a formal dance before Christmas and another in May. Besides these dances, to which men are invited, the girls have a yearly Washington party and mock prom, which are dinner dances for the women only. Also they have their May party. The problem here is the lack of men. Very few girls date and those who do would not be seen at home with the type of man they find here.

In colleges for women the inquirers have reason to think that there are pathological cases as acute as those at colleges for men. In the case of the men the satisfaction of their insistent social desires is apt to drive them to a near-by city; in the case of the women, the closer restrictions of movement imposed by custom impel them to find compensation in "crushes" with fellow women students. The clear understanding of the problem at several women's colleges and the intelligent measures taken to solve it are indicated in the following statements by physicians and physical educators at three such colleges:

> Broadly speaking, there is good health, and the activities provided bring up the moral standards, since opportunities are thus offered for the sublimation of instinctive urges. Girls are not held too closely to books, there are so many other interests, they have so many opportunities for mingling with others, that sublimation is easy and I know of only one "crush" this year. Social life with men is relatively shut off,

but freedom from difficulties is due to the satisfying life apart from men which is offered the girls at ——. I hope to give next year a course in "Mental Mechanisms," a course in mental hygiene, to help in attitudes and adjustments. There is the "crush" element in the small college. There have been a couple of flagrant cases, but —— [a university officer] deals with them wisely. She tries to get different groups interested in each member of the "crush" and so draw the girls away from each other by making them form other affiliations.

A course of lectures is given to seniors as a preparation for their entrance into the world of domestic and social responsibility. I would like to have a course given to freshmen. They indulge in much ignorant talk that would be done away with by scientific lectures given in a clean, cool fashion. Some talks are given them, in which some preventives from "crushes" are given, and the campus seems very free from this sort of thing—perhaps only a half-dozen cases in a long term of years, though one or two were serious enough to cause the girls to be sent home. The attitude of the college is strongly against it. "Petting" is far too common, and is even done in the presence of chaperones, but not by all girls.

Hygiene as here taught deals with the actual conditions in the college. The group in which a girl lives is regarded as a part of the mental problem, and her adjustment to it is of the greatest importance. I keep pretty closely in touch with such adjustments through the senior and junior advisers, who cooperate splendidly, and who come to consult about girls who are not keeping their balance in their relations with men, or who are getting "crushes" or experiencing other emotional disturbances. Generally a girl can be cured of a "crush" by showing her that her action is not getting her what she wants, and at the same time new ideals are substituted. Girls talk too much and know too little about such things, and often more is read into actions than is justified. There is much in the life here that is self-corrective; the activities, the simplicity, and abundance of outdoor life are fine factors.

The vital importance of extra-curricular activities and of cultural events for the sublimation of the sex impulse, so clearly brought out in the first of these three statements, was reinforced by a man who is professor of sociology in a college for women:

The many activities here make for a pretty wholesome social atmosphere, counteracting the tendency to "crushes" and pathological phenomena. The activities and entertainments provided for the girls are indispensable and are so recognized by some of the authorities.

Closely allied with the general problem of relationships between the sexes is the "week-end habit." The custom of flitting away from the campus for the week-end as soon as the last class is over on Friday or Saturday is found at all types of residential institutions, but preëminently at colleges for men. With the greater freedom of movement enjoyed by women, it has become common also at colleges for women. The inquirers are of the opinion that it is far less frequent at coeducational institutions, but in these it is practised by a small minority of both men and women. The testimony shows how it aggravates the difficulty of supervision and control. It is looked upon by several administrators as a baffling major problem.

A varsity athlete in a college for men said:

> Every one leaves town at week-ends. You feel like a lost soul if you stay here. These trips are expensive. They take us away from our work and make Monday absolutely useless. Many go to ——. Many fellows go to —— for hunting and drinking purposes and for dances, motoring down at night, motoring back in the morning in time for chapel.

An administrative officer in the same institution indicated that the freshmen were especially addicted to week-end dissipation in near-by cities:

> There are probably fifty out of a class of 400 who go in for all sorts of rough stuff, and we eliminate them early in the game. A good deal of the loose business here is now done in —— and ——. Some Saturdays almost half of the freshman class leave town. Young fellows want to dance and drink and some of them want to go with women. We watch the phony dances in —— very closely. I had sixty men up before the dean for going to phony dances there last year. The girls they go with are clerks and factory girls. A stenographic school has a dance hall on the top floor where they hold public dances. The bootleggers go there too, and the men find tricky girls there. If they take them off in the other direction there is nothing we can do about it, but if they come here we cover the trolleys and the motor routes. On the average I put twelve to fifteen fast women on the trolley every year and send them out of town. I can pick out the wrong type of girl who comes here. I may hear a man say, "Boys, see that tricky." It is against the rules for any woman to be in dormitory rooms after six o'clock. If a man is found to have a woman in his room he is suspended. The last trolley from —— on Saturday nights we watch very closely and especially the dormitories near the trolley tracks.

A varsity team manager, a senior in a college for men, declared that there was always "a small group who go to near-by towns, hunting out the bad joints."

As might be expected, week-end absences cut down attendance on Sunday chapel services. In one college where chapel is voluntary and week-ending is easy, the attendance is pitifully small.

At a larger men's college, where chapel is compulsory, a student remarked:

> It is amusing to see the men come piling back to town Sunday morning just in time for chapel. Then if they have been up all night they go to bed, but some of them flit back to the city for another whirl. Of course, we watch so as not to overrun the maximum allowance of chapel cuts.

Week-end jaunts by students in colleges for women are apparently taken chiefly to associate with men students. A prominent professor in one of these colleges, a woman, remarked:

> Fifty per cent. of the girls are often away over the week-end. The ideals of the college have slowly changed; regulations, restrictions, and rules are no longer held in the old estimation.

This testimony was confirmed by a senior woman active on the staff of a college publication in a college for women as follows:

> The week-end problem is growing. Three years ago all Saturday classes were abolished. At present there is no regular "out" system, and too many students find it possible to go away for week-ends; at least 30 or 40 per cent. are absent weekly. The students claim that it does away with restlessness, that it is an outlet for their energies. Week-end privileges are limited only for freshmen.

A woman in still another college quoted some illuminating week-end statistics:

> Two thousand girls have used 15,000 week-end absence applications since November, making an average of seven and one-half a person, which means that some girls must have gone away every week-end to make up for those girls in the college who never go away.

The surplus wealth of many college students and their "easy come, easy go" attitude toward money, together with the prevalent itch for exciting diversions, account in no small degree for the less desirable features of the week-end habit. This was suggested in the testimony of a woman college athlete:

> "Prom trotters" think of nothing but men. They go away on week-ends or men come down and fuss. They cause all the trouble and might just as well not be here. They live off campus, are wealthy and stick together. Their criteria are money and men.

The foregoing testimonies, the authors believe, give a truthful impression of the week-end situation. Administrators generally deplored the practice in speaking to the inquirers, but said they were powerless to stop it, except by prohibitions so rigid that they would probably do more harm than the practice itself. At one men's college where the custom had run to a demoralizing extreme, two officers eagerly discussed with the inquirers the possibility of developing a program of social and religious events on Saturday and Sunday which would be so attractive that students would be loath to miss them. By concentrating society meetings, entertainments and varsity rallies on those days and by enriching the religious services and making them voluntary, they were persuaded that the present exodus to the neighboring cities could be largely checked.

COEDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The rapid development of state universities in the United States as a whole, particularly in the western states, has made coeducation by far predominant in numbers of institutions and of students. In this study, however, only thirteen of the twenty-three institutions visited were coeducational.

The larger coeducational universities visited were: Chicago, Cornell, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin; those of medium size, Bucknell, and Ohio Wesleyan; the smaller ones, Grinnell, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Middlebury, and Swarthmore. In none of them do the women outnumber the men; in three, Grinnell, Swarthmore and Middlebury, the numbers are approximately equal; while in the remainder the proportions vary down to a ratio of one woman to four or five men.

The presuppositions underlying the establishment of coeducational institutions may be summarized as follows: coeducation is financially economical in plant, equipment, teaching, and administrative provisions; women are fully capable of joint participation in classroom work without retarding men or affecting unfavorably the content, method, or quality of the curriculum; normal daily association of the sexes is better than spasmodic or clandestine

association; the partial separation of men's and women's group life in accordance with distinctive characteristics is possible to such a degree as may be desirable; both educationally and socially the relations of men and women at this period of their lives should train them for domestic, social and community coöperation in later years. In the case of state institutions, it is accepted as normal to provide equal opportunities for men and women and to educate them together.

Coeducational institutions, by facilitating social relations between men and women, in the daily routine as well as in social affairs, have undertaken a responsibility that the segregated institutions escape. Under modern conditions this is obviously a heavy responsibility. It forces into the reckoning of administrators a series of difficult problems. Whether the advantages of coeducation are considered to outweigh its disadvantages cannot of course be determined on the meagre evidence here presented, which, in the nature of the case, comes mainly from coeducational institutions and on that account may be assumed to show a bias in favor of coeducation. The authors believe, however, that the testimony, taken for what it is worth, may throw some light on the question.

The social situation, especially in coeducational institutions, is intrinsically different where there are 5,000 students and where there are 500. A small student body is not necessarily to be preferred, but it seems fair to say that both good and bad influences are likely to be intensified in a larger student body and that it is more difficult to make the good influences dominant throughout the body. The larger the numbers, the more difficult are residential problems. The observations of the inquirers lead them to think that in the larger student bodies the personnel generally includes a considerable number of "wild" students, both men and women, unresponsive to discipline by either the administration or the student government, and the conduct of women students of an undesirable type may have a corrupting influence on the student body quite out of proportion to their numbers.

The inquirers repeatedly heard comments in the interviews indicating that the women students at coeducational institutions are more likely than the men to lack opportunities for normal social relationships. The wife of a professor in a large coeducational

university where the sexes were well balanced described the situation of women students thus:

> Social life at —— is peculiar; two hundred or three hundred girls have a splendid, almost gay time—the rest do not. In an effort to better conditions this last fall student dances were given, and the first two or three seemed to go off well, and then they petered out so badly that they were dropped. There is little to hold the student body together in such things, and the snobbish attitude of the clubs is shown by the remark of one of the girls: "I suppose the dance must be called a perfect success, because all the queer and funny folks were there." In addition there was no support of the dances, and as each cost $75, they had to be given up. Social life at —— is largely restricted to the popular girl. The democratic dances tried in the fall were not popular.

A senior student in another large coeducational university, a prominent sorority girl, referred to the social difficulties faced by the girls outside the sororities:

> Social life at —— is excessive with some, too restricted with many others, through lack of organization, and opportunity to meet congenial friends. There is no way at all for a girl to meet men properly, unless she is in a sorority. It is almost a maxim at ——: "the best type of man does not date." With those of lower or different standards, "petting" parties are very common; girls do not seem to see any danger in them, they have altogether too much confidence in their own powers to take care of themselves.

There are few obstacles in the way of men finding satisfying social life in coeducational institutions, unless, as a university physician suggested, they insist on being recluses:

> The most serious trouble is the lonely student who overworks. There is plenty of provision here for social relations for those who make any response to the provisions already offered. The trouble is that these lonely men have not learned how to play.

The social life of men and women meets its most difficult test, however, in the larger coeducational universities, if their student bodies include disproportionate numbers and diverse types of men and women. Where the numbers are approximately equal or the men do not too greatly preponderate, and where co-eds are not in disfavor, the authors consider that the conditions approximate the ideal for self-sufficient intra-mural social life. This ideal is

closely approached in several of the smaller coeducational institutions. Even in larger institutions the ideal is realized for a goodly proportion of the students if specific efforts are made, such as the following excerpts illustrate.

A woman, who was president of the women's self-government association at a state university, reported:

> The all-university hops are functions given every two weeks. Six men and four women comprise the committee which has charge of these functions throughout the year. The women take charge of securing patronesses, and of the refreshments. The "cut in" system is used and hardly any girl lacks plenty of partners to dance with. Usually a large stag group is present. The hall is overcrowded. Sometimes part of the evening is devoted to stunts, but usually two orchestras are kept busy playing; the one relieving the other. These dances last from 9 until 12. There is hardly any drinking at them. Quite a number of fraternity men attend.

A prominent senior on the student government committee in another university said of inclusive dances:

> The Union runs two dance halls, one big and regular, one sporadic. Dances come every Friday and Saturday night. Music is provided locally by student orchestras. It is an unwritten rule that Union dances must be properly chaperoned. The committee on student activities passed a ruling that Union dances must have paid chaperones. The dances are very well conducted.

A dean of women in a large coeducational university told how to bring out the backward student:

> We emphasize democracy all the time, provide four middy dances a year and two all-university parties, no other thing being permitted on that night. They give class dinners for men and women together and try in this way to reach the non-sorority and non-dancing girls.

In the smaller institutions success in developing a satisfying and inclusive social life seems to be easier and more complete. A faculty member in a small college where the men and women are homogeneous and approximately equal in numbers, told of the success of the dining arrangements:

> The men and women of the undergraduate body eat together in the college dining-hall. For the breakfast meal, they may sit wherever they please, and for the most part they eat in separated groups. At luncheon, groups of boys and

girls are found at each table. The dinner arrangement of seating is permanent for the entire year. A committee, composed of men and women, tries to seat the student body as congenially as possible; usually there are fraternity and non-fraternity people at each table. The girls try to have two fraternities represented at each table, but the boys make no special effort along this line. It is said that after the R. O. T. C. experience on campus, many of the students requested the return of mixed tables. This helps create a spirit of respect and good comradeship between the men and women.

A student in another small coeducational college, where the numbers of men and women are equal, described the way esprit de corps had been developed:

> The associations with other men in the dormitories, together with the whole college life, have developed what I think of as the college spirit. College spirit results from all the work we do together, men and women, shoulder to shoulder, in classroom and outside. From these associations, we build up the traditions. The spirit of democracy through the entire institution is perhaps the biggest thing and makes our college stand out above other colleges. Money makes no difference. A large percentage of the leaders have worked their way through school. Perhaps money makes more difference among women. The intermingling of men and women is distinctive and one of the largest assets of the school.

Correctives to minimize demoralizing social life were described by a senior student in a small coeducational college as follows:

> The relations between men and women are fairly wholesome, and there is a marked degree of freedom. If there is too much attention paid by a man to any girl in college, he is apt to be kept from receiving very many honors by the men, and excessive attention of this sort is discouraged. The atmosphere is that of a family. A very few go to —— and —— for immoral purposes. The girls here are exceptionally fine in their attitude, and are for the most part innocent of any knowledge of immorality. Men who come here with an idea of going the pace don't find enough buddies in rottenness to satisfy them, and they are apt to leave or to straighten up. The natural relations with girls prevent men getting drunk and carrying on at week-ends.

A teacher at another small coeducational college referred to the homelike atmosphere:

> The college seems like one big family. The men are free to leave college over the week-ends, but they seem to prefer

to stay here and when they go away they frequently hurry back to enjoy personal relations as of a home with strong family traditions.

Some of the testimony already presented has exhibited the considerable degree of social self-sufficiency that is attained in certain coeducational institutions, especially in the smaller ones. Their students, it seemed to the inquirers, while not immune to the week-end centrifugal pull, were less inclined to yield to it than students in most of the segregated institutions. They tend toward somewhat more informal, inexpensive social affairs and toward a more even distribution of them through the year. On the other hand, the stay-at-home students probably do not have as large a social acquaintance or as much social polish on the average as the "week-end trotters." A good example of self-sufficiency was afforded by these observations of a university woman, an officer in a student religious organization:

> Social contacts at the university are informal and perfectly natural. Men and women work together in perfect harmony on committees, business affairs, and socially. They laugh at the attitude, and discourage the custom of "importing" for dances. There is careful chaperonage. The names must be turned into the dean's office both before and after the dances, and failure to do so results in the deprivation of one dance from the sorority for each failure.

The head of the home economics department in a large university said:

> I consider our sane and wholesome social life and the mingling of men and women together in classes and in the campus life a very fine thing, a genuine safeguard to both sexes—much more normal and natural than where they are segregated and have only occasional and formal contacts.

A dean of women in another university, who had had experience in a college for women, based her espousal of coeducation largely on its being a microcosm of society:

> I would never send a girl to a woman's college because life is more normal where the two sexes meet on equal terms and on a natural basis, as they do in society at large. Girls segregated think and talk more of sex matters, and lack the ability when they come out to adapt themselves to real social situations. They may have more polish, but lack the grace of adaptation and consideration for others which is the basis of genuine good breeding. There is every opportunity for girls

in a co-ed institution to learn to live and work together, with the additional advantage of learning how to live in a world not wholly feminine, and that is what they will have to do in after life.

While the proportions between the numbers of men and of women students have a good deal to do with the attitude of the men toward the women, a far more influential factor, the inquirers found, is the tradition or set of mind which has grown up. The following testimonies throw light on the question in institutions of various sizes.

Antagonistic traditions regarding co-eds tend to persist long after their origin has been forgotten. A dean of women in a large coeducational university thought that the opposition of men students to women was "far more a matter of tradition than present-day conviction." She continued:

> It has been fostered, perhaps, by a few fraternities and a few returning alumni. Many men have married —— women, and I have already this year used over 3,000 blanks for "approval cards." While some of these have been for theater or church affairs, many of them have been for dances to which university men were taking university women. The weekly dances at the —— are attended by large numbers of the university men and co-eds. The witticism of a former faculty man has become a tradition: "No, we don't like women at —— but—we marry them. I did myself!"

An alumnus of a men's college, now connected with a coeducational institution, reported:

> The boys here still look down on the co-eds somewhat but their attitude is changing. They find that the women have as good heads as themselves and as much executive ability on joint committees. Some of the men favor outside girls as dance partners but they find life partners among the co-eds, and the marriages appear almost always to be happy. I must say that the relationships of the men with women here are better than they were among my college mates in a separate institution.

A senior student in a large university declared that "the alumni association fosters whatever breach there is between the students and the women":

> The men wish that this were a men's college. The girls have second place, but a great many of them who "kowtow" to the men do not realize it. If a man criticizes girls' athletics his co-ed friend is apt to stay out of women's sports.

Another senior student described the development of a change in attitude:

> There are two kinds of students who play around with co-eds: those who do it right along on a basis of equality; others who scorn them. This shows up worst at a dance where co-eds are present. Men get tight at such a dance who wouldn't where the girls weren't co-eds. We are getting a new attitude toward co-eds here which is better but it isn't very high or satisfactory yet.

In none of the medium-size and smaller coeducational institutions did the inquirers hear of marked antipathy by the men toward the women students. A fraternity man, active in dramatics, at a medium-size institution dwelt on the restraining influence of women students on the men:

> It is an unwritten law for the college men to take college girls to dances. I believe coeducation a good thing. The fellows won't go so far in deviltry as in a men's college. At dances it tends to hold down the riotous fellows and is wholesome for all.

Another man spoke in similar vein:

> I find coeducation valuable because it gives a fine quality of girls to associate with and relations are better controlled with co-eds than with town girls. There is a real respect for the co-ed here. We believe in the women and reverence them.

The good effect of women's scholarship on the men was pointed out by a registrar in a medium-size coeducational college:

> The students are benefited by men and women being in the same classes. The men are forced to do better work than they could by segregation.

An alumnus added:

> The women's marks are consistently higher. This galls some of the men and they defend themselves by saying it is because the girls don't go in for so many activities, but they respect the ability of the girls.

A situation of perfect equality as between men and women in a medium-size coeducational institution was described by an upper-class woman:

> Coeducation here is genuine coeducation; the women are given an equal chance, and are equally represented. The women's self-government association ranks with the S. G. A.,

and is only separate because of the geographical conditions which make it necessary.

At a number of the larger institutions in the West, the equality of the women is taken for granted by men and women alike. It finds expression in many of the extra-curricular activities, as illustrated in the next few excerpts.

A senior woman in a large university testified:

> My men friends are mostly made at and confined to church affairs. I do not meet them much outside. Yet a spirit of good comradeship exists, and men and women work together in politics, or publications and in campus activities. Men like the coöperation, and prefer the mixed classes. A rhetoric class formed in one college for men alone was very unpopular because it did not include the women.

A woman student on a publication board in a large university, said:

> The women's editorial page in the daily paper is an example of more recognition from the men than the girls have ever had before. There are numbers of girls who rise superior to men's criticism and independently go about their work.

Another senior woman on the honor system and student government committees described how men and women were coöperating in a large institution which traditionally was unfriendly to coöperation between the sexes:

> The central honor committee is composed of the chairmen of the honor committees of each college of the university. These are all men representatives. As president of the women's student organization I represent the women. I have at no time felt a lack of courtesy or of consideration for the women's problems; their position there was recognized. The president of the men's student council this year has been in full sympathy with the women's problems and has helped me, for example, to secure more space in the university *Year Book* for the women.

A faculty man in still another large university, himself a graduate of a college for men said:

> The co-ed relationship is valuable and wholesome here. I would not give it up. Of course, there is great freedom in physical contact, and so forth, yet I marvel at the restraint of youth. Girls are much freer to talk of sex and like matters and I think this puts them on their guard. Then, too, the girl has not the passion of the boy and talking of these matters

> in the girl generally leads to restraint. While there is some drinking here I do not believe there is as much as in a group of the same size in a non-college community.

In view of the predominantly optimistic tone of the testimony as to the advantages of coeducation, especially for the morals of the men, it is well to note the considered judgment of three thoughtful educators. A dean of women in a large coeducational university noted its repressive effect on the abler women:

> Quite a percentage of our women are eligible to the most exclusive campus functions, but in order to be asked they must stand for whatever an outside woman will stand for. They lack courage to take a brave stand for the best. They suffer from an inferiority complex fostered by tradition through many years.
>
> A type of girl not particularly popular here might become a leader in a women's college, find her proper balance, go back to her home to contribute socially and financially, become popular there, and marry. Many coming here at a critical time in their development, in a coeducational college, lose confidence in themselves, become too self-critical, lose their poise, do not know how to meet and deal with men. The marked inferiority complex of the women here is my deep concern.

The president of a woman's college said:

> Considering recent tendencies in the relations between men and women I am inclined to think the affiliated or parallel college for women is better than ordinary coeducation. It gives the women the advantages of the general library and of the faculty in the related men's college while at the same time it prevents the women from playing second fiddle to the men in voluntary activities and reduces the amount of distraction due to "dates" during class hours.

A professor of education, who graduated from a men's college and has taught in coeducational institutions, passed a disparaging judgment on the caliber of the men students in certain coeducational institutions:

> The men's colleges have no monopoly on strong men, but I think they average higher in caliber and in red-bloodedness than the men in the several endowed coeducational colleges that I know. I suppose the reason this is not true at the state universities is that there are few if any men's colleges of equal rank in those regions to pull away the stronger men. The scholarship of some endowed coeducational colleges ranks as high as the state universities and there are some splendid in-

dividual men students in them, but on the whole I fear the men are a bit softer and more sentimental. There may not be more fussing and excitement over girls by one crowd of men than by the other, but in the coeducational college it is spread over seven days, while in the men's colleges it is concentrated into week-ends or special events.

SOCIAL CONTRASTS

Sharp contrasts in the economic or social station of students in the same institution militate against a normal social life for all. The authors have observed that the net effect of marked wealth and poverty in the same student body is an inequitable distribution of social life resulting in excessive participation for some and virtual exclusion or greatly reduced participation for others, unless resolute corrective measures are adopted. A professor previously connected with a coeducational institution, but at the time of this study teaching in a university for men, testified that there was "very little chance for men to meet nice girls unless one has a good deal of money."

An assistant professor in a large coeducational university said:

> The weak rich are damned wherever they are. They must go their way to the wall. Lapses on their part are more easily covered, more readily excused, and again it will prove to be a survival of the fittest, for such weaklings will produce only weaklings, who will not live long to perpetuate those standards.

Small no less than large coeducational colleges in which there are wealthy groups with ultra-social tendencies have the problem, as this excerpt illustrates:

> A group known as the "dizzy dozen" have caused much trouble at the college. It is these girls who have used town homes to avoid the rules of the college, have gone to dances in —— and returned to the home they were visiting at an hour at which they could not have come into the dormitory. Several students were recently expelled for having gone to ——, then returned to the campus at 1:30, and parked behind one of the men's dormitories in a car, arousing a large number inside.

Restricted means apparently bring greater deprivations on women than on men, because girls without money find it more difficult to establish social relationships. Their predicament is aggravated by the fact that even yet women do not make advances as freely as men. An administrative officer in one of the larger women's colleges supported this assertion:

> The girls figure too much on going away for week-ends, and many have far too big allowances; the wealth of the girls is indicated by the size of the community chest which this year was $25,000. Men are imported from many places for social functions. Some of our girls, some of the more intellectual types, and those in limited circumstances financially are able to entertain only rarely and go away for week-ends only occasionally.

In public coeducational institutions contrasts of social station or breeding between the men and the women students also prove a serious bar to satisfactory social relationships. This appears to be particularly true in parts of the country where coeducation has been on trial and where consequently the girls from cultured, well-to-do families tended to go to colleges for women, while the other girls tended to go to coeducational institutions where the tuition was lower and more stress was laid on vocational training.

The following observations, bearing upon this question, were made by two members of the faculty at a large university:

> Coeducation is now gaining in favor here. A more attractive type of woman is coming in larger numbers. There was a time when no university women were invited to the proms. Now a considerable number are invited.
>
> Most of the girls here are commuters and many of them are Jews. University men do not go with them but go with —— girls or the nurses at the general hospital or girls from —— or ——. The last-named girls are a society set and popular.

UNDERLYING ATTITUDES

Before essaying to make some constructive suggestions, it may be well to point out certain of the student attitudes which the authors find implied here and there in the testimony and which they believe could profitably be kept in mind by teachers and administrators.

REVOLT AGAINST CONVENTION AND AUTOCRATIC AUTHORITY

Many young people are revolting against conventions, traditions and prohibitions. "Thou must" and "thou shalt not" are red flags to them. But the authors believe that more than the preceding generation they respond to reality, sincerity and reasonableness.

Closely paralleling the revolt against conventions is the questioning of constituted authority. Wherever authority is insecure

and students have a chance to overthrow it, as in the chaperone system, they are not slow to do so. Student criticism of college administrators is no new thing, but today it seems to the authors to be more discriminating than in the past, being focussed on officials who are unsympathetic, autocratic and hair-splitting. Students respond cordially, however, when their individualities are respected and their coöperation is welcomed.

Their distrust of the older generation is based on shrewd observation. In public affairs they declare that the blundering which culminated in the World War is no proof of wisdom, and equally in personal morality they question whether the morals of their elders, especially in sex relations, are worthy of emulation. This attitude finds expression in these remarks of a student in a coeducational university:

> Young people are thinking. They are watching married people, to see if really that sort of life can be happy, and they see that much of it isn't happy, so why do you expect them to follow right along in conventional tracks which have proved in many cases to lead to sadness only?

EMPHASIS UPON SENSATIONS

"It is the duty of every man to cultivate his powers of sensation to the utmost," said a sophomore, as if he were drawing up a new catechism for youth. The slang of the colleges frequently reveals this pervading temper: "I don't get any 'kick' out of that" or "It was perfectly thrilling." "Boys and girls are getting the thrill for the thrill's sake," said a faculty member. When this sensationalism is reënforced by certain modern psychology and by the revolt against tradition, it leads students to plunge into risky experiments, especially in the relations between men and women.

PRESSURE TOWARD CONFORMITY

The assertion of the "new freedom" has become fashionable among many collegiate groups. If it were genuine individualism, independent variation on principle, it would be a hopeful sign of emancipation from crowd pressure. But as the authors have found it in the colleges, it generally partakes rather of conformity to the vogue set by an assertive minority. The rest conform lest they lose caste. The new forms of dancing, the practice of semi-public "petting," have become the accepted thing. "Everybody's doing it." Students talk sex, indulge in social drinking, or dance in

extreme forms rather than be called "queer." One girl, a "dean's problem," evidently desirous of popularity, said:

> Fraternity men can ruin a girl's reputation. If she won't "neck" they slander her. If she does, they tell their men friends she is "a good party," and those men friends will pay her a call with that idea in mind. It is hard trying to go straight.

Similar testimony was given by another woman student in a large coeducational university:

> The men are hard on the girls. I have sacrificed seven or eight dates because men expected to kiss and "pet" after the first or second time with me. Most popular girls permit liberties.

Statements such as these are quoted because they show that in individual cases a certain problem or situation exists which the authors believe to be worthy of attention. They are so far from regarding testimony of this kind as in any sense typical that they wish to place on record their conviction that in most of the institutions visited the dominant moral tone was being set by men and women of high ideals and courage.

CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS

NEED OF THOROUGH DIAGNOSIS

Administrative officers recognize that many academic failures and breakdowns in character are due directly or indirectly to sex difficulties. In spite of this fact, in none of the institutions studied, with possibly one exception, have either sex hygiene or social relations received anything like adequate attention. But constructive effort should be based upon intimate knowledge of the actual practices and attitudes prevalent in the institutions. Repeatedly the inquirers found that college authorities were ignorant of facts of vital importance which diligent inquiry in coöperation with students, coaches and others would have disclosed.

A grave responsibility rests upon the officers to keep making such diagnoses of social relationships, and then in a wise and sympathetic spirit to adopt the requisite administrative measures. Nothing short of intelligent investigation of the local situation and sympathetic contacts with individual students can provide a satisfactory basis for constructive effort.

INSTRUCTION AND COUNSEL

If a true conception of education includes giving to youth information and training with respect to the fundamentals of social relations, then they should not be left to gain their knowledge and experience of sex from their own random impulses or from exploiting charlatans.

The earlier experiments in courses confined themselves chiefly to the physical aspects of sex. These proved in many cases quite unsatisfactory. Recently the more successful teachers in this field have incorporated similar material in some larger subject such as the physiology and psychology of parenthood, personal and social hygiene, the family, biology and sociology. The American Social Hygiene Association, with the collaboration of sociologists, has prepared a course entitled "A Tentative Outline of Material for Sex Character Education in Courses in Sociology and Social Psychology," of which Dr. Max Exner, of that association, wrote the authors:

> For more than three years social hygiene counsellors in more than two hundred universities and colleges have coöperated with the American Social Hygiene Association in a joint study of this phase of education with a view to formulating a sound program of sex-social education for inclusion in the curriculum. There has already been tentatively outlined a series of non-departmental lectures for the four college classes, with emphasis upon those for freshmen, and outlines of educative matter for integration in biology, psychology, sociology, education, physiology and hygiene, physical education, home economics, and literature. It is an encouraging fact that a large proportion of institutions are already making use of the material in its tentative form.

Hardly less important than to give such scientific instruction, will it be to show students the charm of association between men and women on the highest intellectual, æsthetic and social levels. The most telling object lessons will doubtless be the lives of members of the faculty and of other elders whom the students admire.

PROVISIONS FOR WHOLESOME ENVIRONMENT

The creation of an environment conducive to right relations between men and women is an inescapable responsibility of the administrative officers. Provisions for such an environment, whatever their detail, are likely to be of two main kinds, the one restric-

tive, the other constructive. Restrictive action may well concern itself less than heretofore with the refractory student but may throw greater weight against anti-social situations within the institution and against the vicious influences in the local community and the near-by cities. Restrictive action always depends on public opinion and on police power resting on law. All available means will need to be invoked to lessen such exploitations of youth as centers in vicious dance halls and road houses, in bootlegging and prostitution.

But constructive measures are more vital and more complicated by far than restrictive measures. They will require time and personality as well as expensive equipment. They will include provision for many forms of athletic and social recreation for all. They will certainly give an honored place to voluntary activities, such as dramatics, publications, student government, and religious and social service. If the administration and the faculty accept the principle that education by association is just as important as education by mental training, they will not be content to give all these extra-curricular activities simply an indulgent blessing, but will spend time, money and sustained effort to make them as effective as possible.

OFFICIAL FOSTERING OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS

The evidence appears to indicate that the happiest results come where student and faculty committees coöperate in supervising social affairs and where the authorities take pains to ensure that events are properly distributed, democratic, inexpensive and centered as far as possible on or near the campus.

PERSONAL COUNSEL

Invaluable as social affairs and courses of instruction may be, they may fail to reach the heart of sex problems for individual students. On matters so highly personal wise counsellors are needed. The day is probably not far off when every college will have a staff of skilled persons to diagnose students on spiritual and moral as well as on intellectual and physical problems. But, however exact the scientific diagnosis may be, there will always be need also for the intimate, judicious counsel of coaches, teachers, and religious workers, who command the confidence of youth, in order to release inquiring students from misconceptions about sexual matters, and to encourage them in normal attitudes and relationships.

Chapter VI

STUDENT GOVERNMENT AND HONOR SYSTEMS

In student government[1] the authors see an expression of the general movement in which modern youth seeks for release from supervision and for larger control over its own affairs, and it is in response to this tendency that college authorities have delegated to students certain of their governmental powers.

TYPES OF STUDENT GOVERNMENT

Some form of student government was found present in each of the twenty-three colleges studied, but the term "student government" does not signify that there is a standard form. The following outline of duties of the Cornell student council is broadly representative:

> The duties of the student council, in general, are the following: To represent undergraduate interests to the university authorities, to direct matters of undergraduate policy, to appoint committees within the classes, and to provide for class organization. In addition to this, the student council assists in all movements for the betterment of student life in all its activities, and assists the faculty in preserving order among the students.

There is, however, wide variation in the governing principle from college to college. At one extreme the term student government means that students are permitted to "run their own social affairs according to faculty regulations," while at the other extreme "students have complete responsibility for moral control within undergraduate life."

The systems may be classified according to degree of student control into three main types: (1) paternalistic or limited student government; (2) thorough student government; and (3) joint faculty-student government. The government in twelve of the

[1] Student government and honor systems are regarded by the authors as having such importance for character development as to merit treatment independently of other forms of student activities.

institutions visited seemed to classify as paternalistic, in seven institutions as thorough student government, and in four as moving in the direction of joint faculty-student government.

PATERNALISTIC STUDENT GOVERNMENT

The term paternalistic or limited student government is used to describe those situations in which the college authorities delegate a very limited amount of control to students in an essentially paternalistic spirit, retaining all the basic decisions and ultimate control to themselves. For example, a prominent official in a large university reported that the students were allowed "to run certain of their affairs but we keep the actual power in our own hands." The dean of men in a state university revealed this type in extreme form:

> No, we don't have student government, and as long as I'm alive, I pray we shan't. The student council runs social affairs, but under our regulations which are not too rigorous. Students are given a great deal of freedom but they have no disciplinary functions. Students are too immature, in my opinion, to have the judicial power in their hands.

A realization of paternalism was found in many student testimonies. A member of the student council of a state university remarked:

> The student council consists of the various class presidents, but all actions taken by it must be sanctioned by the Council of Administration, composed of all the deans, an august and forceful body. It is necessary to petition them for everything.

A senior in the same university cynically said:

> Theoretically we have student self-government, but it is really a comical farce. We have student government as long as we do nothing contrary to the wishes of the dean or the administration.

A senior in another state university declared:

> Student government here is a myth. The authorities run the school and everybody knows it. They are getting things so arranged that students, no matter what they do, are watched and mothered like little chicks. Any row, big or little, is settled by —— and ——.

A student in an eastern coeducational college declared that student government "acts only as a court of justice. The trustees

keep the college from being broad or radical by their administrative control."

The administrative attitude that undercuts student confidence in a student-government plan is illustrated in the comment of a leading student at an endowed college:

> Administration and students have not gotten on very well. The faculty, after the automobile accident in which a man was killed, stated autocratically that there should be no cars here. The students got together and after discussion and criticism came to practically the same conclusion—that no freshman or sophomore should have a car, but got at it in a different way. The faculty method was what we objected to, their failure to talk the problem over with the students and reach a consensus.

A woman of insight, who formerly held an administrative position in a large coeducational university, smiled at the mention of student government there. "It is not student government at all," she said; "all suggestions come from headquarters."

The failure of the student government in one large coeducational university, it would seem to the authors, must be laid in good part at the door of the administrative officers:

> The student self-government here is known as the Senate and was established by authority of the regents and faculty. It has done nothing in four years. It passes rules but never enforces them. I think this is due to the caliber of the men elected. Some time ago the court, which is under the Senate, had a trial and recommended a man be put out. He was tried for cheating. But he was reinstated by the administration. In the last election, the ballot box was stuffed by some 200 ballots. There was a great deal of talk about it, but nothing done. The elections are of so little interest that they are treated as a joke.

By way of refreshing contrast may be quoted the tribute of a student to the administration at a state university where paternalistic student government prevailed:

> Loyalty to the administration is strong throughout. It may seem paternal, but whatever it has done has been in line with student ideas. So true is this that the daily never dares criticize actions of the council of the deans and the president.

THOROUGH STUDENT GOVERNMENT

Under this head are grouped those attempts at student government in which the students really govern. All of the colleges

studied were still so organized as to make the administration the legal authority. Some administrative officers, however, had permitted student governments to acquire genuine authority. The men's student government in a small coeducational college had attained this position, as attested by the following testimonies:

> Self-government among the men is real. The faculty has not in two years changed a recommendation by the students.
>
> In one case an appeal was made from the student government's decision. A student petition was presented to the court, requesting that the case be reopened. An open meeting of all the men was called and opportunity given for the introduction of new evidence. After thorough reconsideration, the student court decided that their original decision was correct and so voted. The faculty accepted this decision as final. The student body was stirred to the depths and the great majority—including all the better elements in the student body—backed the student court.

The student government in a small men's college had also attained the sense of autonomy, begotten of the assurance that the faculty invariably supported it:

> We have student government under nominal faculty approval but students have charge of their own life. The faculty always upholds the decisions of the student committee.

The women's student government, as described by an officer in a small college for women, was changed from paternalistic to thorough student government by a change in the administrative personnel:

> The Student Government Association was not student government in the days of the preceding dean. She pulled wires and kept things well in her own hands. Now things are changed and the students handle matters so well that even extreme cases never come to the public. The dean never interferes with a decision of the board, even when not favoring it.

A senior girl in a medium-size coeducational university preferred student to faculty control:

> Student government is the only thing to have. It is very democratic, and there is no favoritism. Girls did not like the strict rules once imposed by authority, but have to live up to those they make themselves.

In all the above cases, the final authority remained in the hands of the faculty or the dean, but the responsibility for the rules of

living and the decisions regarding offenders belonged to the students themselves.

JOINT FACULTY-STUDENT GOVERNMENT

The term "joint faculty-student government" is used to describe those situations in which faculty and students unite in exercising control over student affairs. This method was beginning to emerge in four of the institutions studied. The student members of the governing association in a college for women stated that the faculty and students had meetings comparable to the town meeting of early New England and that the faculty joined with the students in reaching decisions.

> We are doing away with separate organizations for each phase of government such as athletics and honor system, and are bringing everything under the college community. This community government is much more progressive and reasonable. It has three divisions, executive, legislative, judicial. Faculty members come to the larger meetings of the community, as well as students, and have a vote.

A student in another college for women expressed pride in the government as a community-wide effort:

> The college is proud of its system of government, a community organization on a workable basis which regulates details of campus life and prepares for future citizenship. It is a representative form of government with legislative, judicial, and executive departments. A large percentage of the students are behind the government. It is only the minority who are continually offending in spirit or rules.

A hint of joint faculty-student government was found in one large coeducational institution, where it was frankly admitted that student self-government had never been greatly developed. The dean, however, had been instrumental in developing student-faculty committees for the purpose of studying the crucial problems, such as discipline, conditions of study, students' time, the fraternity and club life, religious agencies, and the like. The plan was to retain the administrative function in the person of the dean who should act upon the basis of the thorough knowledge gained for him by the student-faculty committees. This dean testified to the fact that students considered that the combined judgment of students and faculty was more likely to be sound than that of either students or faculty alone. Furthermore, the procedure contemplated

and made readily possible the consideration of curricular questions as well as of those problems related solely to student life, with which student government usually deals.

APPRAISAL OF TYPES OF STUDENT GOVERNMENT

The various types of student government are here appraised chiefly in relation to what the authors believe to be their bearing upon student attitudes and character. While in several instances one type may be tending to merge into another, certain distinctive tendencies and influences are found in each of the types discussed.

Paternalistic government not only induces passive resistance but tends to suppress the initiative of the more alert students. In some cases it stirs up a spirit of rebellion against the authorities. While open revolt was seldom found in the colleges visited, grumbling and cynical criticism were prevalent at several places. In one great university, where paternalism outwardly seemed to work well, a group of alert students, concluding that there was no hope of securing genuine student government, had organized a secret fraternity to circumvent the authorities and control student affairs. They pretended to play the game with the authorities but actually planned to control both authorities and student body. When the university authorities were attempting to stamp them out, they still swung elections by merely withdrawing the names of nominees identified with their crowd and running new and unsuspected accomplices. Members of this group justified their action with "this is the only way we can do anything real here." They were men of such caliber as to give promise of becoming powerful political managers in later life.

Paternalistic government is obviously not a stimulant to self-government. It tends, also, to use penal methods more than either thorough student government or joint faculty-student government, although student government is sometimes harsh with the characteristic black or white judgments of youth. As one passes from paternal to faculty-student government, the method of penal discipline seems to be dropped, a change that tends to carry with it beneficial changes in the form and spirit of government itself. Wherever in the colleges studied thorough student government was practiced, students and faculty alike spoke of a "sense of personal responsibility," "practice in self-imposed control," "initiative," and "interest" in government, the sense of a "student com-

munity," "confidence between students and faculty," and of "holding office in the council as a responsibility."

Mention was made by an occasional student, as well as by faculty members, of the fact that student government demanded too much time of students when their real task was study. The argument was also heard that too great responsibility was laid upon students in the making of momentous decisions in which they should have the help of the more mature. Thorough student government, however, was almost always spoken of as more desirable than a strictly faculty government or than student government to which all real initiative was denied by the faculty.

The few instances in which an approximation to student-faculty government was found seemed to be yielding promising results. The authors believe that it tends to develop a unified community in which faculty and students, old and young, share in the problems and in the efforts to solve them. It intensifies the sense of individual responsibility for the community, and of community responsibility for the individual. Service on the government board by students is looked upon as an honor and a public trust. The significance of such experience as a training ground for participation in political government is obvious.

HONOR SYSTEMS

The "honor system" is a special aspect of student government. Its purpose, as stated by a typical honor constitution, is to put "the members of the student body on their honor in all their relations with the faculty and with each other." It is based upon a constitution or code formulated and accepted by the student body, which becomes the standard of conduct for individual students of the institution. It requires that the individual live honorably as defined in the code and watch for and report violations of the code by fellow-students.

Honor systems were found to be operating with greater or less effectiveness in eighteen of the twenty-three colleges studied. In fourteen of the eighteen they applied to the entire student body but in four of them only to certain departments or classes.

INCULCATION OF THE CODE OF HONOR

The effectiveness of an honor system is dependent on keeping the student body and faculty committed to the code so that they

will respond as a unit in maintaining it. The public opinion of the entire group is the real seat of authority for the code. This requires that the provisions of the code, its manner of operation, and the esteem in which the group hold it be impressed on all members of the group, especially on newcomers. Accordingly, the code, with its history and present mode of operation, is usually published in the first issue of the year of the student paper and in the issue just prior to the first semester examinations. It is often printed also in the students' handbook. In nearly all cases a special convocation period is given over to its elucidation.

By-law 9 of the Amherst "Honor Constitution" reads:

> Members of the Committee or members of the Senior Class duly appointed by the Committee shall read and explain the Honor Constitution to the new members of the student body in the first three weeks of the academic year. For the purpose of this explanation the new men shall be separated into groups not exceeding twenty in number, and opportunity shall be given for open discussion of the Honor System at this time.

Thus, like custom or tradition, the system is more or less consciously accepted by successive entering classes and carried on from generation to generation. It may be accorded the chief place among traditions, as at the University of Virginia.

SCOPE OF HONOR SYSTEMS

The extent of the field in which the system operates varies somewhat from college to college.

The University of Virginia system at first "dealt only with breaches of the pledge appended to the written examination," which is the common element in all the systems. "In the course of time, and by evolution of student public opinion, its scope has gradually widened, until at the present time it embraces any offense seriously involving the student's honor." Every dishonorable act of a student of the university comes under the jurisdiction of the honor system. Thus men have been expelled not only for cheating in the classroom and on examinations, but for violations of athletic and dance pledges, dishonesty in gambling, obtaining money under false pretenses, cashing fraudulent checks, giving untrue excuses for absence from class, and other dishonorable practices.

None of the other colleges studied go quite so far as this in the scope of their systems. Princeton, where the system is described as "powerful and effective," comes nearest, but does not include all situations. "It has to do with examinations, pledges, essay work, laboratory, and any phase of curricular activity, but does not refer to conduct on the campus or with women." Amherst limits the scope of her honor system even more than Princeton. Art. V. Sec. I, of the Amherst Honor Constitution states:

> It shall be deemed dishonorable, (1) either to give or receive aid in any curriculum work without the knowledge or consent of the instructor concerned, or (2) to abuse the privileges of the library, or (3) to commit such acts as may be considered dishonorable by the student body in the annual discussions as provided in Art. III. Sec. IV.

The Amherst Honor Committee for 1924 further restricted the system by this interpretation of its powers:

> The Committee on Honor shall consider within its jurisdiction only such acts as are specifically termed dishonorable in Art. V. Sec. I. of the Honor Constitution. It will not pretend to the wide jurisdiction over student conduct which is apparently given it by the first two sections of the Constitution. Furthermore, failure to report a case shall not be considered as a case of dishonor; nor shall failure to sign the pledge be so considered, although the latter will necessarily be regarded as an indication of dishonorable intent.

At Yale the system covers "work of the classroom only." At Ohio Wesleyan the system "has to do entirely with cheating in the classrooms and in academic work"; and at the University of Chicago "with academic work including class attendance." But students at the University of Chicago testified that "the system works fairly well in classroom work but does not work in controlling attendance at classes." A prominent dean observed that the honor system usually is at best a misnomer for student conduct and control of examinations.

The honor system is further based on the idea that each individual of the group is responsible for its maintenance. This means that each individual pledges to watch for and report any violations on the part of others. Virginia specifically states that, "A man who fails to report dishonorable practices, or who purposely shuts his eyes when such acts are being committed, or in-

differently fails to investigate suspicious circumstances has violated the honor code." The claim is made for Virginia that this requirement is effective, so that students not only report on themselves but on others.

The next most effective observance was found at Princeton, but there it was clearly admitted that students do not like to report on their fellows. Amherst found this requirement so impracticable that, as already stated, the Honor Commission for 1924 carefully suspended it. There is in fact much evidence that students "will not report on their fellows." In one college the "girls do" but the "men do not."

METHODS OF ENFORCEMENT

Examinations are the primary field of the honor system. At each examination students are expected to pledge themselves as follows: "I, A. B., do hereby certify upon honor that I have derived no assistance during the time of this examination from any source whatever, whether oral, written, or in print, in giving the above answers" (University of Virginia); "On my honor I have not received any help in the preparation of this paper" (Amherst).

A report on cheating becomes a case. The case is investigated by the committee and, if the circumstances warrant, the accused is summoned and acquainted with the charges. He may either at once withdraw from the institution or stand trial. In case of trial the committee arrives at a verdict of guilt or innocence and recommends the penalty to be imposed by the authorities. It is assumed that the faculty will accept and uphold the verdict of the committee. If the accused confesses he is more leniently dealt with. But if guilty, whether confessed or proven, a penalty is always meted out.

The penalties for violating the honor code are very similar in all the systems studied. They include the following: "flunking the course in which cheating was done"; "the addition of extra units for graduation," sometimes as much as a year's work; suspension for a specified time; expulsion. The University of Virginia has expulsion only. No others are quite so severe, although Princeton approximates it and Amherst demands it after the second offence. While most systems, however, do not exercise such rigorous powers, all of them rely almost exclusively on the penal method.

EFFECTIVENESS

Only in one of the institutions visited did the inquirers find student opinion, so far as it was tested, unanimous as to the success of the system. In the other institutions the system was regarded at best as fairly successful and at worst as a failure.

The tendency of the system to gain stability the longer it is in force is suggested by the experience of Virginia and of Princeton. Of the latter a professor wrote:

> The honor system in examinations is the greatest influence on this campus. We have practically complete honesty in examinations. It has been in vogue thirty-three years and was completely effective from the outset.

A Virginia professor reported:

> During the eight years of service in the chairman's office, when the discipline of all the students of the university was in my hands, but one man ever told me a lie, and he came back the next morning and confessed the truth, although the truth ensured his dismissal from the university. These experiences and others like them force us to believe in the honor system and constrain us to commend it to others.

These opinions were confirmed by several students. A varsity football man said: "There is a very real spirit of honor in the honor system here and a strong feeling about it. It is a mighty good thing." A senior added: "The system is very powerful and effective."

Conditions that seem conducive to success or failure of the honor systems are indicated in some of the samples of testimony that follow.

Two students testified as to the fair success attained in a large university for men:

> Our honor system seems to operate fairly well. It gives occasional opportunity for a fellow to show real courage to inform on an offender. If a man peaches on another, he is not ostracized. However, not many fellows do it.

> The honor system works with reservations. At times there is indignation in both student body and faculty. On the whole it has much diminished cheating. It has also created a much more wholesome atmosphere for both students and faculty. It has killed the battle of wits between teacher and student.

A senior in the same university thought that the system failed, because of faculty mistakes:

> The student government is handled by a student council of fourteen members, mostly seniors, a smaller number of juniors, and a lesser number still of sophomores. This council handles all matters pertaining to student activities, including the entire honor system. The honor system works pretty well. The men sign a pledge when they enter the university and a paper at each examination that they will abide by the honor system. One who is caught cheating loses all credit for the course and is reprimanded by the council. For a second offense he is suspended, or sometimes expelled. I believe the failure of the system is due to faculty mistakes. We never find dishonesty in a section in which the professor is a high-grade man and really handling his job. When a professor has taught too many years or never was any good, then it is only a game and the boys cheat if they can.

Another student, a member of the honor committee in the same university, shared the feeling that the faculty attitude had much to do with cheating and told of a suggested modification of the ordinary dependence on penalties alone:

> The honor system covers only work in the classroom. It works better than did the old proctor system. Its success depends a good deal on the attitude of the faculty. If the faculty plays the game, the students respond. The discipline committee handles all discipline. It meets every week to consider any breach of faculty rules, such as absences, drink, women. We call a man in and get his evidence. He withdraws. Then with what we know, we consider his punishment. We act always if the case holds against the man. We found one method of punishment that seems to work better than suspension or expulsion. It is this—the boy is sent home, a letter is written telling the parents that the boy is sent home and will tell them why. Then we send the added information to the parents. We send him home for two or three weeks to work it out with his parents. This scheme seems to work very well.

A senior, president of the Christian Association in a medium-size coeducational university, thought that the honor system worked fairly well, but he decidedly disapproved the use of expulsion and public branding:

> The honor system has to do entirely with cheating in the classroom and in academic work. It seems to be working well, but I do not believe in reading the names of offenders

from the platform and expelling people from college. I believe that a man often cheats without thinking and suspension or expulsion ruins his life.

A professor in a small college for men attributed success to the honoring of student decisions by the faculty and to the student sentiment behind the system:

> The faculty work in close coöperation with the student council. We try to let them handle their own affairs, their own discipline, and so forth. There is a special honor system committee to handle honor in examination. They discover guilt or non-guilt and report their findings and penalties to the faculty, which always supports them. The honor system arose from student demand, in 1908. Both its direct and indirect results seem to me good. It is a serious matter to be brought up before the committee. There is an automatic penalty provided. Occasionally a faculty man may advise but no faculty man ever sits on the honor committee. Any advice is only as to general procedure. So far as I know, the faculty has never studied the principles involved educationally.

Another senior in a medium-size coeducational university blamed ineffectiveness partly on the lack of general support and the refusal of students to act as spies and partly on some inherent but unanalyzed defect:

> We have too much honor court and too little real honor. The court is elected by the classes. We lack the student sentiment necessary for the system. Students refuse to report dishonesty which they see. The trouble is, I believe, that the court acts as prosecuting attorney, judge, jury and everything. There is something inherently wrong in the honor system. Three students had surely cheated, yet the court had no actual proof and acquitted them, and the whole student body congratulated them on getting by. Another really decent fellow made a mistake, was caught and convicted.

A senior noted several weaknesses that impaired the success of the system in his university:

> The school here is not ready for the honor system. The War left us in bad shape. The spirit was: "Get by if you can." The system has not been properly supported, either by the students or by the faculty. The students kick about having the names read out. There is no use in blackening a fellow's reputation. One of the worst cases was where a man was promised immunity by the honor court, but when referred to the faculty they kicked about it. In another case, the man was promised immunity by the dean, but the honor committee

did not see it that way. Another objection to the honor court is that the accused never faces the accuser. They are in the midst of revising the honor rules, which very much need it. There are hundreds here that would not cheat but would not report those who do cheat. The honor rules need a lot of change if they are to be fair.

Unwillingness to report was stressed in a small college for men:

The honor system is on a wrong basis. It depends on the student's reporting on other students, but he won't. The faculty does report on students. There is comparatively little cheating on regular exams.

The danger of imposing the honor system upon student groups that are not ready for it was voiced by witnesses in two coeducational universities:

The honor system as proposed by a visiting author of distinction was not acceptable. There isn't enough honor spirit to justify it. Students are not yet ready to accept responsibility. Some students opposed it, preferring the opportunity to cheat. The advisory faculty committee published the plan in the daily and it got a half-hearted adoption by a small vote, not representative of the student body. It is somewhat in abeyance now. The outcome is not sure. The faculty favor improvements but are not united.

The honor system is not very efficient. The commission worked out a code of ethics by having each member of the commission submit a code. Some of the instructors don't believe in the system and will not leave the room during exams. Most cases of dishonesty are reported by the instructors. Students don't report. An attempt has been made to create an honor sentiment but it hasn't worked.

Various reasons were given for the comparative failure of the honor system in other institutions:

Most reporting is done by the faculty.

The honor system works as well as could be expected here. The Virginia system is a matter largely of spirit and it is hard to get that spirit here.

Anybody is going to cheat if his work is such he would be busted if he didn't.

The honor system was not favored by the student body but it was adopted under the pressure of certain leading students, and is not working well.

> The faculty is divided, with a minority against the system on fundamental grounds.
>
> The honor system is a failure. The girls who would break rules have a corresponding lack of honor about reporting themselves.

Five of the twenty-three colleges studied did not have the honor system. Of these five, two large universities utilized proctors in class examinations, and relied solely on the faculty to report cheating, to try students, and to inflict penalties. The authors believe that the marked difference they observed between these institutions and those having the honor system lay not only in the fact that the faculty made and enforced all the rules, but also in the noticeable lack of coöperation between faculty and student body.

A senior on the editorial board of the daily in a large university described the working of a proctorial system.

> We have the proctorial system. Three faculty members and two undergraduates form the committee. This committee has charge of cheating and all dishonesty in relation to academic work. Penalties are flunking the course, suspension or expulsion. A case is handled as follows: the proctor makes a written report to the committee. The committee studies this report, then listens to the student's story. Then the committee decides whether the student is guilty or not, and recommends to the dean action to be taken. The committee practically always supports the report of the proctor. The dean is usually more lenient than the committee. Since the committee has three faculty members and two students, in every case what the faculty desires goes. We might just as well be ex-officio.
>
> I know of no chance of allowing the defendant to reorganize himself and make good. Now and then the one dean whom the faculty part of the committee think too lenient allows the fellow to take extra work rather than be thrown out of school. Sometimes the committee and honor system is very unfair. For example, a student wrote an English theme which was supposed to be a burlesque. He burlesqued the geography outline. The professor took the position that he had taken too much from the source book. The professor said as much to the student and that, "You are now out of my class and if you try to take it to the faculty I will see that you get thrown out of the university entirely." The student then went to the registrar and asked advice. He advised dropping the course and taking it under another man the next term. This was done and the student received the highest grade given.

> In examinations the students are made to sit in alternate seats. The examination paper must have nothing on it whatsoever. The student must have nothing in his lap or visible in any way, except upon the arm of the chair on which he is writing. For example, the examination paper must be laid under his writing tablet, necessitating the lifting of the tablet and seeing the examination paper, etc. In a large classroom three proctors pace up and down, constantly looking over the shoulders of students to detect any cheating. It absolutely becomes a game between the faculty and the students and the students win most of the time. I am much dissatisfied with the system, and believe most students are. One-half of the students try to get by.
>
> Many are bound by their own consciences and won't cheat anyhow, yet I know that every time one gets before the committee, whether he has cheated or not he will get a sentence. The student is really in an attitude of terror for fear his paper might chance to be similar to that of another. Two brothers got the same grade, though sitting in opposite corners of the room. They were called up to the professor and investigated to see whether they had worked together. There is a continual attitude of suspicion by the professors and the students see how much they can get away with. The proctors themselves do not like the system.

A spokesmen for two of the other institutions that had no honor system said that it had been rejected on principle and that their students were no less honorable than students in the institutions that had the system, and this opinion was borne out by the observations of the inquirers.

The fifth institution, a large university, depended on a proctor and penal system which its spokesmen maintained got better results than an honor system. The proctor said:

> I am prosecuting attorney for the university. I was appointed on the theory that it takes a thief to catch a thief. The plan of the committee is to receive the report of the infraction of rule or law. Usually, I call on the person and have an interview before the trial. I try to impress on him the importance of telling me the truth. I use the element of surprise and do not tell just what case I have against him. Then we have the hearing before the committee. The committee consists of five members and the dean of the college involved and the advisors. The advisors do not vote. After the trial, we vote on the penalty. We have three penalties: We impose additional credits necessary for graduation, all the way from one to fifteen; we suspend; and we expel. In

any case, he is on probation and is excluded from taking part in any campus activity.

Our disciplinary cases all are concerned with academic work. Very seldom does a case get by us. An example of the way we go at cases occurred recently when a professor reported a case of "cribbing" a theme. An assistant dean examined the paper and then reported that it was not "cribbed." But this quarter the same student was assigned to another teacher. When the student requested of the former teacher his record, he found he had been suspected of "cribbing." The case was then referred to the committee. We found four occasions on which he had been under suspicion. I called him in without telling him what I had on him. After discussion, he admitted that he had "cribbed" an article. Then before the committee I asked him about the particular theme I had. He denied any help on this. I then showed him a certain bulletin of one of the departments and asked if he had ever seen it before. He denied it. Then I said, "I will distribute the bulletin to the members of the committee for them to read in comparison with your theme." He at once gave in and replied, "Don't bother. I lied to you."

The proctorial system here so vividly depicted represents, in the judgment of the authors, academic discipline at its worst.

APPRAISAL OF HONOR SYSTEMS

The drawing of demonstrable conclusions respecting the merits of the various honor systems would require complicated and prolonged study, such as this inquiry did not pretend to make. The appraisal here presented does not profess to be more than the sober judgment of the inquirers, derived in part from the data already given, in part from unrecorded conferences and observations, and in part from their general philosophy of education.

The authors frankly confess an inclination to think that the honor system in which students share yields no better results than dependence on the spirit of honor throughout a student body.

The honor system is generally aimed at preventing cheating in scholastic work and at placing the administration of penalties for cheating in the hands of a committee that includes undergraduates. An essential feature is that students shall report cheating by their fellows. In institutions that have no honor system, the detection of cheating is left to each instructor, and the trial of offenders

and the assessment of penalties are solely in the hands of the authorities. One of the most vulnerable features of the system is this obligation of students to "tell on" their fellows. This involves a conflict of loyalties, which largely invalidates the system and tends to make generous-hearted students accomplices of the cheater.

The authors believe that the fundamental defect is the exclusive dependence, both with the honor system and without it, on penalizing offenders, instead of on a determined and sympathetic effort to effect their moral rehabilitation. The honor system committee or the college administration, as the case may be, is supposed to stand *in loco parentis,* but the wise parent depends far more on constructive measures, such as sympathetic counsel and appeals to family pride, than on harsh punishments.

It may be objected that such a conception of the disciplinary function would be impossible of application in a large university —that it presupposes intimate individual acquaintance and counselling. True: the moral deficiencies of most colleges and universities to-day, which this analysis of honor systems has thrown into relief, are bound up with the mass-production theory of education. The authors maintain that neither intellectual nor moral education can be satisfactorily achieved on an impersonal, wholesale basis. The remedy, therefore, of the present deficiencies involves, among other things, the subdivision of the larger mass into smaller units by means, for example, of the honors courses, the semi-autonomous college (as at Wisconsin under Professor Meikeljohn), the preceptorial system, and the Freshman Year, and it involves also the development of personal guidance, on a high level, available to every student.

Chapter VII

SENIOR RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON MORAL AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND BELIEFS

It was thought desirable to check and supplement the testimony given to the inquirers by a set of printed questions to students regarding changes in their habits, attitudes and beliefs since they entered college. The questions were given out only to college classes of seniors, usually by the professor in charge. Signatures were omitted and freedom from local inspection was guaranteed. Sheets were returned by 674 seniors who answered the questions in whole or in part—437 men and 237 women. The average age was 22.4 years for the men, and 22.1 years for the women that answered.

Naturally, this sample of 674 senior-class students in twenty-three colleges cannot be regarded as in any sense an adequate representation of the half million undergraduates throughout the country. Nevertheless it is the most extensive sample in numbers of students and of institutions and in the areas of life covered that has recently been gathered. The summary and interpretation of the responses follow the order of the questionnaire.

MORAL HABITS

As to moral habits, seniors are either self-appreciative, or they grow markedly better during their college days, or else, in spite of the efforts of the inquirers to sample all kinds of seniors, the superior persons answered in disproportionately large numbers. At any rate a substantial majority of both men and women answering laid claim to improvement in every item, notably the following:[1] fair play in athletics (men 98 per cent., women 97 per cent.); keeping pledges and paying bills (men 93 per cent., women

[1] All of the percentages are based on the *numbers answering* in each case. On all but three of the questions, the number that answered ranged from 75 to 100 per cent. of the entire 674. On the question of moral habits, the number of women replying was smallest (21 per cent.) as to "betting" and "use of liquor"; the number of men replying was smallest (71 per cent.) as to the "use of liquor."

87 per cent.); loyalty to home and parents (men 98 per cent., women 87 per cent.); honesty in business deals and college politics (men and women each 90 per cent.); use of time (men 73 per cent., women 77 per cent.). The well-known unreliability of self-appraisal when it concerns moral conduct is doubtless exemplified here, even though the replies were anonymous.

It is noteworthy that the men confessed to the greatest deterioration in the following particulars:

1. The use of liquor	39	per cent.
2. Reputable conversation	37	" "
3. Betting and gambling	33	" "
4. The use of money	27	" "
5. Attitudes in dancing	25	" "
6. Relations with the other sex	25	" "

Among women the greatest deterioration was indicated in the following:

1. Reputable conversation	33	per cent.
2. The use of liquor	31	" "
3. Betting and gambling	30	" "
4. Attitudes in dancing	26	" "
5. Relations with the other sex	23	" "
6. Use of money	23	" "

The exceptionally small numbers of women answering upon the use of liquor (51 out of 237), and upon betting and gambling (50), may mean that the 79 per cent. that failed to answer were not addicted to these practices themselves or at least had not become more deeply addicted to them during their college career; on the other hand, the percentages of deterioration with regard to reputable conversation, attitudes in dancing, relations with the other sex, and the use of money take on added significance as points of strain, although it is to be noted that only 121 answered at all with reference to dancing.

The most demoralizing influences in college life as a whole were said by men to be the use of liquor (47 per cent. of those answering), gambling (21 per cent.), women (16 per cent.), low conversation (16 per cent.). They were said by women to be the use of liquor (56 per cent.), automobiles (15 per cent.), smoking (14 per cent.), and fraternities (12 per cent.). Comparison of the responses of the women as to liquor in this question with those in the preceding question would indicate that here they were expressing a judgment as to the demoralizing influence of liquor on men and on college life as a whole, rather than on themselves.

The high percentages upon smoking and automobiles, the latter evidently connoting "petting," appear, however, to represent the women's view as to the undesirable effect on themselves, since the percentages on these points are low in the men's list (smoking 3 per cent., automobiles 2 per cent., and "petting" 2 per cent.).

The most constructive influences in college life were found to be associations with others, chiefly other students (men 49 per cent., women 44 per cent.), and the influence of professors (men 33 per cent., women 33 per cent.). The third and fourth for men were athletics (23 per cent.) and fraternities (19 per cent.), while for women the third was the church (23 per cent.), and the fourth athletics (22 per cent.).

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

The next section of the questionnaire had to do with religious attitudes and beliefs. Besides summarizing the replies in terms of percentages, the authors have thought it well to reproduce a few of the replies to each question because of their piquancy and suggestiveness or their representative character.

BELIEF IN RELIGION

The largest group came to college having accepted religion as taught and as a matter of course (men 39 per cent., women 60 per cent.). Some came with an attitude of complete indifference and a few with personal beliefs based on serious thought.

> I thought religion was the gateway to heaven, wherein one was accepted if he behaved himself well enough, that the only reason for being religious was to indicate that you desired to be one of the elect and thereby gain heaven and eternal life.

> I believed in the old fundamental ideas, hell fire, and God more or less an avenger of wrong. I swallowed very largely what the minister said and was afraid to criticize. I believed the Bible literally.

> My senior year in high school I joined the Presbyterian Church because I wanted to. I went to church regularly and found a great deal of help. I had begun to think seriously but up to that time I had taken religion as it was, believing everything that I was told yet never understanding what it was all about.

> I had already gone through the most important questioning that comes up in a young person's mind long before I came to

college. The overformality and lack of feeling in parts of our church service had already made me realize that my really religious moments which were significant could only be possible outside of church, perhaps on the river or in the woods.

In outward appearance I was an orthodox Christian, but inwardly dissatisfied and ready for new ideas.

A majority of both men and women found religion a larger force in everyday experience by senior year (men 55 per cent., women 59 per cent.). The chief ways in which this was true were as a greater practical help (men 39 per cent., women 38 per cent.), and as having received more thought (men 18 per cent., women 26 per cent.).

I have completely abandoned all reverence and superstitious awe in my religious belief. I no longer regard preparation for the life hereafter as a dominant motive in life. I believe that religion may be an aid though it is not a necessity in living a life of service.

Compulsory chapel took any enjoyment out of religion that I had and then the men who were in the pulpit made it more boring still.

Religion plays no more nor less prominent part now than it did before. I go to church every Sunday and holy days and receive Communion once a month. Outside of that religion enters very little into my life directly. Subconsciously it is always influencing me and always will, because of my early training.

I do not weigh my acts as I did before. This is partly because I have changed my idea about religion. I am now a modernist. I do wrong but it does not bother me as it did before.

I regarded religion as a personal matter to be thought by each individual for himself. I regarded God as merely a hypothetical first cause which some day might be explained, but saw no need for worshipping it any more than for worshipping the nebular hypothesis.

I have come to understand that although educated people can get along without religion, religion is necessary to suppress vice and crime among those who lack our advantages.

INFLUENCE OF CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS AGENCIES

Unexpectedly large majorities said that they attended church either regularly (men 44 per cent., women 55 per cent.), or occa-

sionally (men 39 per cent., women 36 per cent.). Organized religious agencies showed decidedly favorable votes as having been of actual help in the development of character (men 73 per cent., women 75 per cent.).

> The regular and actively followed routine of worship and devotion has a disciplinary effect and developed in me a religious sentiment which I can not rid myself of in spite of my rational working out of the problems.

> The church service has always been my mental housecleaning. I find the quiet, the wholesome thought, the humility of prayer, and the beauty of service, a sure mode of refreshing a mind clouded with riff-raff.

> The church has taught me Christ's way of life and has given aid in attaining it by fellowship and worship. The personality of its student pastor has been the greatest and most direct help.

> The Y. M. C. A. has meant the most to me due to two or three men connected directly with it, who were examples of what a Christian really is.

> The Y. W. C. A. has helped me in its informal discussion groups. It has settled my problems but it has also aroused others and made me think deeply. The church has not helped me a great deal. It seems so big and impersonal.

> Exaggerated sectarianism is the best way to drive thinking young men and women away from the influence of the church.

> I do not often go to church. Ordinary ritual is performed so often that it becomes monotonous, holds nothing that is morally uplifting for me. It is too great an effort to find out the meaning, and the words and expressions are often too eccentric to have a meaning.

BELIEF IN THE BIBLE

In regard to changes in belief about the Bible, the largest groups were those who changed from a belief in the literal interpretation to a belief in the Bible as historical, allegorical or ethical (men 31 per cent., women 35 per cent.), and those who retained unchanged a belief in the Bible as an historical record (men 43 per cent., women 38 per cent.). The decided majority of both men and women, therefore, held to what may be termed the historical view, that is, that the Bible presents a satisfactory working code of ethics, as well as a beautiful piece of literature

and a history of significance, though not entirely authentic. Many made the definite statement that their study of science had caused them to revise their ideas as to the literal truth of the Bible, but they nevertheless considered it the foundation-stone of right living and practical religion.

> Its significance has not changed, perhaps because I am taking an engineering course and not one which deals with philosophy or evolution. I regard the Bible as history and as the word of God.

> Formerly a very holy though not infallible book of strong inspiration which should be constantly studied. Now a book of most uneven merit containing much beautiful literature and a great many very primitive ideas about the spiritual life.

> I never read the Bible much until I came to college and took a course in Bible literature. Now I am thrilled by the Bible as a literary, dramatic, poetic library. Its historical interest does not appeal to me. I consider some of the New Testament ethical teaching very fine and very practical.

> There was no question in my mind that the Old Testament stories were true and authentic; now they are merely beautiful legends of a nation of which I am a member. They probably represent the thought and learning of the time, but as far as being authentic historically, no.

As to the reading of the Bible, only 7 per cent. of either men or women read it regularly, 39 per cent. of the men and 47 per cent. of the women read it occasionally, and the rest who answered read it seldom or never.

CONCEPTIONS OF GOD

Answers to the question as to the meaning of the word "God" showed that the early training of many of the students was such that they continued to visualize God as a person. This form of belief tended to break down under the influence of courses in science and philosophy. The men found it more difficult to reconstruct their conception of God and gave less thought to the matter than the women, who frequently, after a period of groping, found a satisfying spiritual structure taking the place of old beliefs. The number avowing disbelief or definite scepticism was noticeably small, being one per cent. of the men and one per cent. of the women.

The largest groups of those answering had, with some changes

in their conceptions during the college course, come to think of God as—

(1) A person, a Creator, Ruler, and Supreme Being (men 24 per cent., women 12 per cent.).
(2) An impersonal, all-pervasive Spirit shaping the course of nature and the destiny of men (men 13 per cent., women 22 per cent.).
(3) A fatherly divine Being having the attributes found in Christ (men 10 per cent., women 28 per cent.).
(4) Life force (men 12 per cent., women 10 per cent.).

A significantly large number, especially among the men, either did not answer this question or answered in vague and indefinite terms.

> God seemed to me a very near personality, not very definitely conceived, a magnified kindly but unyielding judge. Now my conception of God is very vague. He does not seem to actually exist, except sometimes as reflected in my friends, or as I am touched by some beautiful scene, thought, or deed.

> God was a localized yet always present being, to whom I prayed and with whom I might live some day in heaven. Now God is a certain yet not understandable being, source of all being, the underlying spirit in nature. What we call the laws of nature are God at work in the world and a man may by prayer make his will approach the divine will.

> I don't know. I don't feel the presence of a personal God, and consequently it is a mystery to me who people think is listening when they pray. I cannot feel what people have told me was their communion with the Spirit. God means to me a great force behind the universe whose plans are too infinite for any one to grasp.

> When I came to college I called myself an agnostically pragmatic materialistic pantheist [*sic.*]. Now if I have to call myself anything, I am an indifferent agnostic, that is, I don't know and don't see how I can know, and therefore I don't see the use of worrying about it.

> The word God meant a sort of nebulous terrible Being, and the prospects of hell were far better than those of heaven. He is now a God of mercy, but also of justice. I do not think one can get away with bad living, but you are never a "goner."

> When I came to college I thought of God as a very personal being, head of the church, author of the universe, and my own special policeman. God now means to me a very distant, vague, impersonal force, the force that causes and directs the

orderly development of the universe and has nothing to do with churches, and little to do with morals except through natural laws.

God was an unworldly being who sat up in heaven and had very little to do with life here. I believed in him because that was the thing to do. I now consider Him to be a life force, working through all things. He is not perfect but is infinite, having no beginning and no ending. He is progressing slowly through an evolutionary process, the source of all life and energy, to whom all life returns. This deity is undefinable in location and appearance, entirely impersonal, the summation of the natural laws and forces, impartial, inexorable, and ever present.

God is merely the term used to express the forces of good in the world.

On coming to college God was a great omnipotent being, who knew everything I did and could do everything I asked Him to do, all of which He never did, nor did He seem to care. I see now that He is a moral postulate, a symbol for certain great moral values highly essential to the maintenance of group solidarity and the preservation of the social order.

Formerly a great loving spirit, personally interested in each of his children, and very close to one's heart, guiding and comforting. Now an abstraction, impersonal, unheeding, "the principle of the conservation of value." For three years I was distinctly religious after coming to college, believing in prayer, communion, etc., until within a few weeks the study of *The Philosophy of Religion,* by Höffding, and some other reading, robbed my religion of all the usual significance of the term.

God is the creation of human minds to explain forces that are incomprehensible to the mind. The only reason to believe that the pagan gods are not as true as the modern conception of God is that the conception of one God has met the problems of modern life more readily.

The word God used to signify a glorified grandfather full of human inconsistencies of policy. It now stands as a synonym for the universe of which I am a part. Its personal application has disappeared, for which I am thankful.

When I came to college God meant something I feared or prayed to when in trouble. Now I am not sure of the nature of God. Sometimes I doubt that He exists. I am, however, trying to keep my mind open to conviction.

I have come to no definite and stable conclusion as yet. I expect to have an idea of God when I have been out of college a couple of years.

OBSTACLES TO RELIGIOUS BELIEF

While scientific courses as now taught headed the list of obstacles to religious belief (men, 26 per cent., women, 27 per cent.), science and religion were considered complementary rather than unrelated or antagonistic by large majorities of both men (78 per cent.) and women (85 per cent.).

Belief in evolution was also expressed by large majorities of both men (83 per cent.), and women (80 per cent.).

> I don't know. It might or might not be true. It is, however, better than the Adam and Eve theory taken literally.

> I don't know much about it, but I take the word of the scientists meantime, who say they are pretty sure it is a fact.

> I believe in evolution in so far as it deals with the physical.

> No, almost every principle set forth by Darwin has been defeated in the last seventy years. Why believe some other theory which will receive the same fate?

"Too many activities" were mentioned as an obstacle by 15 per cent. of the men and 31 per cent. of the women. This suggests to the authors that absorption in college activities has become a major substitute for interest in religion; that motor activity has crowded out reflection; that immediate local enterprises have been substituted for matters of an ideal and universal nature.

Environmental influences in general were mentioned as obstacles by 10 per cent. of the men and 20 per cent. of the women, while compulsory chapel was listed by 11 per cent. of the men as an obstacle, although chapel was compulsory in only ten of the institutions which men attend.

HELPFUL INFLUENCES

In response to the question asking which of eight factors was "the most important source of help in living a good life," women were found to reply more generally than men. Sixty-two of them ranked "prayer" as the most important influence while two groups of 47 each put "church worship" and "nature" first. Thirty-nine considered "discussions on religion" the greatest source of help while only thirteen gave first place to "reading the Bible." Eleven women ranked "music" first, eight put "science" ahead of the

others, while six voted "poetry" the greatest help. Among the men "prayer" was again considered the most important influence by the largest group—sixty-two giving it first place among the eight sources of help. "Church worship" was ranked first by fifty-three men and "nature" by thirty-five. "Discussions on religion," and "sciences" were given first place by two groups of twenty-nine and twenty respectively. "Reading the Bible" was voted the most important factor by only fifteen, while "music" got six first places and "poetry" five.

THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS

The life of Jesus was considered to set the ethical standard for modern life by large majorities of both men (80 per cent.) and women (90 per cent.).

> The teachings of Jesus are the basis of our whole moral and ethical code. I recognize the tremendous effects which His teachings have had, but I fail to see any connection between Jesus and any fundamental religious concept.
>
> We believe that Jesus is coming more and more to be an active factor. People are freer to discuss and confess their admiration of Him as a personality than they were formerly. My own attitude changed from one of reticence to one of frank advocacy.
>
> I feel that His coming was the one great evidence we have that there is really a God and a hereafter.
>
> Jesus is not as great a factor in modern life as He should be. He has been obscured by religious organizations.
>
> I do not think that Jesus is important as a factor in modern life. His nominal followers make no pretense of living up to His teaching. His teachings, however, are what we need in a material and selfish age.
>
> Christ has been dead two thousand years. Some of the things He said will always be true, but there is no need for viewing them with a sickly sentimentality as if everything He ever said or did was the best possible or that it will *always* be true. I think of Him merely as another Moses, Solomon, Buddha, Mohammed, or any other teacher.

Large majorities also considered the teachings of Jesus to be practical in regard to such matters as war and industrial relations in modern society (men 87 per cent., women 92 per cent.). The opinions of these seniors as to the order of feasibility, as

indicated by the percentages below, may directly reflect the relative amount of discussion and education devoted to these questions during the college period.

(1) Upon war, the men voted 67 per cent. fully feasible and 70 per cent. immediately feasible; the women, 75 per cent. fully, and 67 per cent. immediately.

(2) Upon international relations the men voted 67 per cent. fully feasible, 68 per cent. immediately; the women, 74 per cent. fully, 61 per cent. immediately.

(3) Upon industry, 61 per cent. of the men believed that Christians should apply the teachings of Jesus fully, and 65 per cent. immediately; while the women voted 72 per cent. fully, and 77 per cent. immediately.

(4) Upon race relations, the men voted 56 per cent. fully feasible, 60 per cent. immediately; the women, 56 and 63 per cent.

> The fact that many industries have demonstrated that the ideals of Jesus are workable is sufficient proof that His ideals are practical even in this day of the dollar.
>
> In the competition of modern society one could not follow Jesus' teachings and survive.
>
> They will not stand the test of modern life. They are not only unworkable; they are ill-conceived and show a lack of knowledge of human nature. I am thinking of the injunction "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Obviously not according to human nature. Something could be drawn up not so extreme.
>
> Success and morals don't go together. Jesus' teachings are workable only for secluded people.
>
> "My brother's keeper," is expressing the attitude of Jesus in child-labor laws, mothers' pensions, better housing laws, homes for those unable to care for themselves, homes for the industrial girl in the city, etc.

LIFE-WORK PLANS

The third main set of questions had to do with life-work plans.

Changes in plans during college were recorded by 34 per cent. of the men and by 42 per cent. of the women. The authors interpret this as an indication that careful vocational counsel is one of the major needs of undergraduates. The most favored callings indicated by the men were business, engineering, agriculture, teach-

ing, law, medicine and journalism; by the women, teaching, marriage, social work and business.

College life was said by both men (80 per cent.) and women (82 per cent.) to have greatly increased their unselfishness, though these percentages should doubtless be liberally discounted to allow for self-appreciation. The three chief motives actuating the choice of life work were the same for men and for women: interest in the work (men 38 per cent., women 36 per cent.); service (men 30 per cent., women 27 per cent.), and money (men 15 per cent., women 7 per cent.).

The continued influence of parents in shaping life-work desires was attested by both men (36 per cent.) and women (39 per cent.), while older friends ranked second for men (19 per cent.), and fourth for women (12 per cent.). College teachers ranked third for men (18 per cent.), and second for women, 23 per cent.).

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this questionnaire were supported at many points by the oral testimony of witnesses and by the observations of the inquirers. They reveal the presence of a large amount of idealism among college students and much groping for an adequate philosophy of life. Some of the answers quoted show clear and careful thinking. The majority of answers, however, seem to the inquirers to indicate considerable confusion and lack of fundamental education on religious and ethical issues. This is especially true in relation to religious beliefs. If other students change between matriculation and graduation as much as these 674 seniors say they have changed, then the period is one of growth and adjustment; and the new standards and ideas actually brought to bear upon students may be of the utmost significance.

In the light of the facts already set forth in this chapter and of others to be presented in the next chapter, the authors believe that there is need to reconsider the place of religion in higher education. Paralleling the present effectiveness of technical instruction and training, should undergraduates not be given a fuller education in the appreciation of values and of the controlling principles supplied by religion and ethics?

These seniors give no indication of wishing ready-made solutions of their religious and ethical problems, but they do seem to welcome the light which history and science and experienced

counsellors can give them as they work out their own solutions. That the giving of this light to all undergraduates is a proper and important function of the universities and colleges is the view expressed by two university presidents:

President James R. Angell, of Yale, in his annual report issued in September, 1924, wrote:

> Our universities throughout the country are giving deep thought to the question of affording to the student body the opportunity for religious teaching and the development of religious thought. . . . One finds in college the same changes of thought as in the larger communities. These changes are particularly obvious in the attitude toward the old religious forms. I have a deep faith in the spiritual quality of our youth, which is properly seeking its own particular expression, but which is in many of its essentials the quality of Christianity. There is an undoubted confusion in the minds of many students regarding the relation of the spiritual and moral side of their lives to religion, just as is the case with their elders. The dissipation of this confusion may require a new approach in religious teaching and the universities may well be called upon to take the lead. . . . Whatever steps may be taken along this line, it remains true that the spiritual atmosphere of an institution depends in large part on the direct influence of the members of the faculty in their teaching, in their personal lives, in their relation to individual students.

At a memorial service to the late President of the University of Chicago, Ernest De Witt Burton, Dr. C. W. Gilkey said:

> In the last talk I ever had with President Burton, shortly before his second operation . . . he pointed to some notes lying on the table before him and said, "In the last two weeks I have seen more clearly than ever before in thirty years what this university ought to be and may become. . . . In that future and for its realization, the moral and religious life of the university is more central and important than I have ever before realized it to be." That is the last thing he ever said to me, and I share it with you as a message which this university must never forget.

Chapter VIII

RELIGIOUS PROVISIONS AND AGENCIES

The history of organized religious effort in American colleges runs back to their origins. Character education based on religious teaching was a leading purpose in nineteen out of the twenty-three institutions studied. In fact, several of them were founded under denominational auspices to train ministers of religion.

In recent years the original purposes of many of these colleges have been subordinated to other interests, if not lost sight of altogether, or their fulfillment has been vaguely intrusted to voluntary agencies. The few institutions in which the religious purpose appears to have been kept dominant are chiefly small colleges, such as the one thus described by a professor:

> Our daily chapel, which is voluntary, is a big factor here. It unites the student body and gives significance to the entire work of the institution. The whole of life is considered religious. Every department in the college is religious. The professors hold this view and act upon it.

This attitude was apparent in only six of the institutions studied. In thirteen, certain original official provisions, such as compulsory chapel, were continued because of tradition, or financial endowments, or the fear of censure from alumni and religious constituencies. The way in which official provisions may become purely perfunctory is illustrated in the following testimony by an instructor in economics concerning the continuance of an historic chapel service:

> There are very few students present, frequently only six or seven. Even if the students don't come the president wants to show that the university still believes in beginning the day with a candle at the altar.

The remaining four institutions studied had no declaration of religious or moral purpose in their charters, but they made as thoroughgoing effort to provide moral and religious guidance as the thirteen just mentioned. This was notably true in one of the

largest state universities where constitutional restrictions at first prevented religious purposes from finding expression, but where later they came to permeate the university, radiating from the president and influential members of the faculty.

PROVISIONS MADE BY THE INSTITUTIONS

CHAPEL EXERCISES: COMPULSORY AND VOLUNTARY

In presenting testimony upon specific provisions by the institutions, such as chapel exercises and credit courses in religion, the authors endeavor to emphasize, not the announced purposes of these provisions, but their present contributions to the development of student character.

The chief reasons for chapel exercises given to the inquirers in the interviews were not religious value, but tradition, social unification of the student body and administrative convenience.

A professor in a large university thus defended the tradition of chapel:

> I suppose I am more or less responsible as chairman of the committee on chapel, for keeping it alive. I believe in it sincerely because I feel that it is a part of —— life, and it would be a great mistake to give up the things that have always been associated with it. It is a long standing tradition and helps to solidify the college.

The social unification of the student body was referred to by a junior student in a small college for men:

> We do not think of it so much as a worship period. It is more of a get-together and is a big influence on campus life. All announcements are given there. One is afraid he will miss something if he does not go.

The Registrar in a small coeducational college described chapel as "the social event of the day." He added: "It is the real social center. A graduate on returning would go there first."

Administrative convenience is evidently served in a number of ways by chapel exercises. A football coach in a small college for men remarked that "chapel gets the students up early and started for the day."

Other comments were:

> Most of the chapel talks are for raising money.
>
> It is mere discipline put on to get men out of bed.

It is held for the sake of keeping men here over week-ends.

It is a place for roll-call, announcements and for visitors to speak.

Compulsory attendance at chapel, indeed, seemed to the inquirers to be one of the livest religious issues discussed. The amount of required attendance was found to vary widely in different institutions, and the less the amount, the less the opposition appeared to be, though some degree of opposition was observed with any degree of compulsion.

Some examples of testimony by faculty members favorable to compulsory chapel are first presented.

A faculty member in a large university for men gave the following defense of the compulsory requirement:

> I do not take any stock in the arguments of those who feel that it is wrong to compel men to go to religious exercises. They understand that compulsory chapel is part of our system when they come here. If they don't want to take their place in our system on those terms they ought to go somewhere else. I am sure that the good which it does very greatly outweighs the harm. I believe that religious exercises are just as much a part of men's training as physical examinations, or the study of English or history. A man who doesn't believe in compulsory chapel simply shows his sense of the importance or the lack of importance of religion.

A dean in the same university[1] said:

> I think chapel is good rather than bad. There is only one thing against it—the attitude of antagonism which arises on the part of some men because it is compulsory. A few men oppose it on the principle of its being dishonest. Three out of four of the more thoughtful faculty men here, however, are in favor of its continuance. The arguments in favor of it are that other things are compulsory, such as physical examination, attendance at classes, etc., etc. All this is explained before a boy comes. If he doesn't want to go to chapel and conform with the requirements of the university he had better go elsewhere.

The following half-hearted testimony came from a professor in a small college for men:

> The chapel does do some good as a meeting place and a rallying ground of student sentiment. It serves no really religious purpose, however, nor do I know of any movement

[1] The faculty and governing board of this institution have since voted to abolish compulsory attendance.

on the part of the faculty to make it educational. Not many of the faculty attend. The old-timers on the faculty go. I go because it is an activity of the college and I want to know what is doing. There are many of the faculty who attend simply because the president has requested them to do so.

Compulsory chapel was endorsed by only a few students, all of them in medium-size or smaller institutions.

A prominent senior in a medium-size coeducational university declared that he had "gained much from the chapel speeches which as a rule are good."

Another prominent senior in a medium-size college for men found real religion in chapel:

> I believe in compulsory chapel. A man can get real religion there if he wants it. It has been a great help to me. It does a fellow no harm to get up earlier in the morning and it is good to go there with all the rest and start the day right.

One of the most effective chapel services found was in a small coeducational college. It was described as follows in the report of one of the inquirers:

> Assembly is held every morning for fifteen minutes. Students have a certain number of cuts granted them each year. An effort is made to have an interesting fifteen minutes together. Sometimes students take charge of the program. Sometimes the faculty does. The morning I attended, after the singing of a hymn and a minute of silence, one of the students played three violin selections. My hostess told me the students like very much to have the music featured, as they get so little of it elsewhere.

A junior in a medium-size college for women said:

> There is no problem about getting girls to chapel. So many interesting things happen there. The president tries to get in sympathy with the girls through his chapel talks. If a club takes in new members, or teams are formed, or Phi Beta Kappa announced, these groups lead out of chapel.

Criticisms of compulsory chapel were heard in institutions of all types and sizes.

In answer to the question, "Is the compulsory chapel of religious value?" a faculty member in a large university for men replied:

> Heavens and earth, no! Chapel is a very serious question. It is upheld by strong tradition. I doubt, however, whether

> there is such a thing as compulsory religion. The general effect of chapel is hard to tell. It has one great non-religious value. It unifies the college; the centrifugal elements are so strong that we need unification.

Another faculty member in the same university said:

> I am a prejudiced witness. I am opposed. It is a cherished tradition of the old shop. We are considering abolishing it for the freshmen. The storm which arose when the proposal was first made overwhelmed us, but I am sure it will be abolished in the not distant future. However, it does not have as bad an effect as one might anticipate. Students have compulsion all around, in class and otherwise, and they call chapel another nuisance. The boys would more than likely vote to sustain it, but not on the ground of religion. It is not a religious function. The Sunday services, when the best preachers are invited, are a real privilege and many of them are highly educational.

An administrative officer in a medium-size university for men opposed compulsory chapel as "a sacrilege in the name of religion."

A professor in a small college for men depicted the unreality and formalism which the inquirers considered not peculiar to this college:

> The faculty is letting the chapel go its own way. A strong sentiment among the alumni is enough to force us to keep it, but the faculty sees in it little value for religious development. It is a place for roll-call, announcements, and for visitors to speak. There is very little real prayer in the chapel. Generally the Lord's Prayer is spoken in a formal way.

A professor in a large university was of the opinion that compulsory chapel took "most of the religion out of religion," and that it did more harm than good.

A faculty member in a large university for men explained a student attitude:

> Two years ago a group of men led an insurrection against chapel. They held that if one is religious, why be coerced; if one is not religious, coercion won't cure him. I personally never felt any uplift in it. However, a great deal can be said for it. It is a unifying factor. The mere bringing together of so many men does something that you couldn't get otherwise. Often, however, the more religious one is the more he dislikes chapel. It is a formality and a rather dry one at that.

The three excerpts that follow were expressions of opinion by students in, respectively, a large university for men, a small co-educational university and a small college for men:

> Chapel is 75 per cent. meaningless and as religion it doesn't go. The majority of undergraduates would probably vote against it. There is, however, a powerful cohesion in the college, largely due to chapel. A more beautiful building, as at West Point, would help a great deal to solve the problem.

> There is general dissatisfaction here over compulsory chapel. The trouble is that too many returned missionaries come back and talk. The building itself is not attractive and the fact that it is compulsory is also bad. If it were voluntary more would come. Everybody shuffles his feet if the speaker runs over 10:30.

> There is a very intense feeling against compulsory chapel. I am sure the men do not consider it as religious. No one speaker can stand up before this group of men day after day. Sometimes we have outside speakers and the men give attention, but ordinarily it is just a lot of hypocrisy.

The decorum at chapel in a woman's college was thus described by one of the inquirers:

> All participated heartily in singing and general worship; the pastor from a town church preached and made a too evident effort to please; the room was very quiet, but all through the back girls read novels, studied, tatted or whispered. The fact that they came prepared to while away a boring hour was evident.

An alumnus of a large college where chapel was compulsory, but who was at the time in a secular university where it was voluntary said:

> The attendance here is large, though smaller than it was at —— but the religious values of the services are decidedly higher. It is a significant fact that several hundred students and a goodly number of the faculty gladly gather every Sunday to hear speakers, Christians and Jews, and take part reverently in the service, instead of being painfully irreverent as they used to be during chapel in my Alma Mater.

Wherever the inquirers found voluntary chapel a success, there was evidence of definite effort to make the services attractive and to enlist students' collaboration, generally in the chorus choir and occasionally as presiding officers.

CREDIT COURSES IN RELIGION

Courses of some sort in biblical history and literature, religious education, or similar subjects were provided in all the twenty-three institutions studied. Ordinarily these courses were given under academic auspices, but interesting exceptions were found in the state universities. At the University of Illinois, such courses are provided by foundations organized under denominational supervision, but the same credit is given for them by the university as if they had been taken in another university. At the University of Kansas, similar courses are provided by the Kansas School of Religion and credit is given for them by the University. This school has been organized by a group of interested professors who represent unofficially various religious interests. At Michigan a similar school has been organized.[2]

Samples of comment about a wide variety of courses in various institutions follow:

A junior in a large college for men described the course in the philosophy of religion as "wonderful":

> The professor tries to make us think. We begin by writing papers on various leading questions without previous instruction. He then reads selections from these papers and tries to keep his own ideas in the background but makes us express our own.

An administrative officer in a college for women thought somewhat poorly of biblical teachers:

> The Bible courses are by no means the poorest in the curriculum, but are most certainly not on a par with those in social science or philosophy. The professors are undoubtedly biblical scholars, but are not teachers. A girl can get through a course without opening her Bible, though those who desire to do so can learn much.

A professor of biblical literature in a college for women explained his method and results:

> Biblical instruction is provided for here by the terms of the will of the founder. Three hours are required after freshman year, but this may be changed to two hours of required and one hour of elective work. The purpose of the instruction,

[2] For a fuller description of such courses cf. the publications of The National Council on Religion in Higher Education; two bulletins, *The Undergraduate Courses in Religion in Tax-Supported Colleges and Universities of America* and *Undergraduate Courses in Religion and Related Subjects at Denominational and Independent Colleges and Universities of America.* Free on request.

in addition to fulfilling the terms of the will, is to get the students to appreciate the Bible. The scientific attitude toward the Bible is taken. The purpose is to get students to appreciate the religion of each writer, his moral and religious message. The Jews are not required to believe Paul's theology, but to understand it.

I used to teach science, and am conscious of no change in method now. I try to stir the students' historical imagination, to help them appreciate the thought of the time. I expect this to make the student more religious, and I hesitate less and less to emphasize the religious teaching.

Few of the students come with literalist backgrounds; rather do most of them with no backgrounds at all. More students have to be introduced to a book of which they know nothing than have to be helped to adjust their views to a modern interpretation.

Some results are that large numbers of students go out with definite biblical knowledge, with increased sympathy and broader ideals. The thought of the seniors is broader than is that in lower classes. Said one Jewess: "Your religion and mine are much alike; that of our fathers was different. There is greater understanding, and more sympathy for other races and other types of religion; there comes, too, some understanding of the Catholic position."

A member of the faculty at a large college for women described an interesting situation:

The interest in the study of the Bible is growing, and more students are majoring in religious education. . . . Religious thought in the college is stimulated by the ardent attacks of some of the younger professors, "pseudo-scientists." —— deplores this "vulgar, flippant treatment of religion." The attitude of the college is and always has been Christian, but non-sectarian.

A professor of the Bible in a medium-size coeducational university, still under religious auspices, explained the purposes and requirements of the courses:

All freshmen are required to take one semester in the Bible department. The aim is: (1) To make the work function in the life and conduct of the college student on the campus. (2) To make the work carry over into life after college is finished. (3) To "vaccinate the student against the the things he will meet in further study," critical questions and scientific teaching, so that he may retain his religious ideals along with his scientific method. The Genesis-Exodus course is designed to bridge the old and new. Possibly one-fourth of the students have the old literalist backgrounds, and

another fourth come with no background at all. It is our policy to deal much with the individual student in conference, which is no easy matter when a freshman class numbers 600. Conferences are scheduled as regularly as class hours, and notebooks are required as the basis of the conference. All sorts of individual problems come up. The teachers emphasize the literary beauty of the texts. In at least two instances they have been teachers of English literature.

The executive secretary of a Christian association in a medium-size university for men spoke of the demand for such courses in religion:

> The senior council recently requested required courses on the history of Christianity, literature of the Bible, and Christian ethics. The board of the faculty and trustees approved this action, although some felt there was not a proper place in an intellectual curriculum for them. One faculty man opposed it, but the course prevailed. The questions at issue with regard to these courses were whether they would be thoroughly scientific, and whether the issue between fundamentalism and modernism would emerge. There is a very able course given by —— on the ethics of Christianity. He is a great teacher. The historical approach to Christianity is given in the second semester of this year, and the course on the Bible is to be given next year. —— has a course on evolution and Christian faith to which the men kept coming in such numbers that it increased from six to thirty.

A university pastor explained a "school of religion" at a state university:

> The school of religion has three hours credit in a total of 120. All teaching concerns the Bible teaching. There is no philosophy of religion or religious education or ethics. The most popular courses are New Testament Survey and Social Teachings of Jesus. Most courses are three hours each. They have petitioned for more credit. Students of all sorts are in the courses. Some take the work merely seeking light on religious truth. Credits give our courses standing. Reports from former students give unanimous testimony that they would have taken more courses if credits had been available. Professor —— is chairman of the curriculum committee of the school of religion, and is also head of the department of philosophy. The school of religion faculty includes three university pastors. The trustees include representatives of four denominations.
>
> Professor ——, when approached last year by ——, said that no courses in the psychology of religion should be given by the school of religion: "When this course is given the de-

partment of psychology will give it." This seems to indicate jealousy on the part of the department of psychology. The school of religion seems to be limited for the present to courses which the university could not offer.

One of the inquirers reported poor teaching in biblical literature in a small college for men:

> The teaching was very poorly organized. The professor asked two questions only during the hour. He did not allow discussion, but shifted about in a cursory lecture. He used the orthodox commentary method of dissertation, which could have been found in any one of a thousand ordinary Sunday schools. The assignment of the lesson was very loose.

A junior student in a college for women painted a gloomy picture:

> Most girls do not know about religion. Some are atheists, take the attitude of not believing anything, but most haven't their ideas settled. In the Bible courses they write letters, read and are bored to tears, except those who have —— and who love his manner of teaching.

An administrative officer in a university for men thus expressed his ideas:

> The relation between science and religion is not handled in any systematic way. The only treatment of religion is in the general slant of the instructor. The professor of organic evolution points out this relation in a strong way. Many take courses in anthropology and sociology. These help. We have no courses in biblical literature. Anyway these are all bunk. So far as I am aware there is now no real opportunity to get courses in the English Bible or comparative religion. I don't want to see philosophers get hold of them, that is the end of religion.
>
> The kids come here perfectly ignorant of the Bible. We owe it to our students to provide one course on the greatest English literature and one course on the greatest religious book. We cannot put this in the hands of the divinity faculty. They are bound to make it pious. Nor can the English literature faculty do it. We need a scholar to give a high-class course open to the whole university. If he did not make it too difficult, it would be surprising to see how many would take it. We should also have a really first-class course in comparative religion closely related to the science of society.

A faculty member in a medium-size college for men pointed out the ethical possibilities of good courses:

Most of the Bible courses here are called "pipe courses" and many students take them for that reason.

I believe that real thinking, plus reading, form the basis of morality and religion. I do not believe that they can be imposed from without. Nearly all students go through a process of revolting from dogmatism, creeds and so forth and finally come to a point where they are like a ship without a rudder. They have nothing to which to cling. This does not lead to immorality, however, any more than dogmatism does.

I doubt whether many will go out from here with causes for which they are willing and eager to fight. They rather drift into their places in life. Real courses in religion would help to change this tendency.

The students in one large coeducational university were particularly frank in their remarks:

I am enrolled in the course in the psychology and philosophy of religion. I think there are about 150 in the course. I got little from it. It is too technical. It is badly taught. The lectures are dry.

I took a course in English Bible. I don't recall just what we studied, several books of the Bible, I think. It wasn't made interesting.

I took a course in Semitics. I think it was Assyrian history. I didn't get anything out of it. The professor is a very poor lecturer. When he writes on the board you're lost.

I took something. I don't remember what we did study.

I took a course. There was a little bit of the Bible in it. I remember Assyria, David and Solomon.

I didn't take any of the courses. A university professor can't teach religion. They're not sympathetic enough. Few people can do it.

In one of the English courses the professor read from the Bible as a humorous book.

One of my professors though it was a joke to slam at religion.

They have to go slow on religious courses here because of the attitude of the trustees and some of the faculty.

By way of conclusion to this section certain comments of a constructive character made by faculty members may be quoted.

A professor of English in a large university for men stressed the possibility of "getting character and religion into all the courses in the college":

> English poetry, history, economics, all lend themselves to the spiritual. I believe that character picks the road a man is to travel, and his intellect helps him along the way. Sport gives the hang-on spirit.
>
> I believe I can accomplish more by teaching a course in the regular curriculum in which we find the spiritual values of literature, than by giving a course for the Christian Association. A course in the Association at once professionalizes me as a Christian worker, while the effect of my teaching in a college course is natural and not forced.

An administrative officer in a graduate school of a coeducational university offered these positive ideas regarding courses:

> Any school of religion for undergraduates must be handled by the institution and not by a group of independent pastors. The curriculum should start with the Bible, the Old Testament and the New Testament, not with the psychology of religion or social psychology. It should include the history of the Christian religion, what it is, its growth and its chief doctrines. But more important even than these courses for the training of people to work in the church and the community, is the organization of project courses in the college. I would give university credit for activities such as religious extension work, the direction of play, etc. We ought to face the problems of life and provide much consultation for students.

The dean of a department of theology in a university for men described four proposed courses for undergraduates:

> First, in the philosophy department, a course on the Christian philosophy of life, to be given by a philosopher. Second, "The Bible as a Great Religious Document," in effect, a course on Old and New Testament theology. Third, a course on comparative religions like that now being given by ——, but somewhat more thorough. Fourth, a course in religious education methods. Later on perhaps a course in the psychology of religion. All these courses are to be elective.

PROVISIONS MADE BY THE CHURCHES

BY LOCAL CHURCHES

In the neighborhood of each of the institutions studied were churches of the leading denominations. Their interests were for the most part local, their permanent membership and support coming from the community, but their relations with the respec-

tive colleges and their influence upon the students varied considerably from place to place.

The chief facilities offered to students by these local churches were in the form of services of worship, personal pastoral service, devotional and discussional meetings in connection with church student societies, social hospitality in church buildings and in the homes of members, non-credit courses for the study of the Bible and religion, and recruiting among students for the ministry and overseas missionary service.

The influence and effectiveness of these local churches were very freely discussed in a large number of interviews, and many expressions of approval were heard from both students and faculty members. At the same time, even when there was general approval, there was often an undercurrent of criticism; so that, while the authors have little doubt as to the general good intentions of the churches and as to the effectiveness of some of them, they are left with a strong conviction that in many cases the exercise of a little more imagination and a good deal more energy in adapting themselves to the needs of students would immeasurably increase the value of their services.

Some samples of student opinion are selected for quotation.

A senior student in a state university expressed the belief that students went to church "better than the average boy of the same age removed from home influence," while an officer of a student religious organization of the same university emphasized the value of his church to a freshman as a place where he can "feel at home."

The following appreciation of the church school by a senior woman on the student government committee in a state university expressed a sentiment heard somewhat frequently:

> The church Bible school is the biggest thing in my college life; my class is taught by a college professor, who is modern and practical. Every week-day is so busy and full of activity, that the Bible school and church give opportunity for relaxation and quiet meditation which is wanting at other times. Professor ——, the teacher of the class, helps to set my life in order for the week.

Praise or blame was often meted out to the pastor, as in the four quotations that follow:

> He is narrow but logical and believes that Christ is with his church only. When the Protestant churches broke off they still had the light of Christian teachings but no guarantee

of salvation. He believes in the authority of religion and a mystical life rather than social service. He is very good for us all, leads a splendid life himself. We wonder what kind of life such religion would give us. He starts more religious thinking than any one else in the college.

The —— church minister is a wonderful person. He does a great deal for the students. His church is small and he draws few students, so he tries to reach the students in their houses. Every Thursday night, he visits at the —— sorority house and talks to the girls. He is trying "to show the practical value of religion." He is so sincere, and the girls like to have him talk to them. He points out that coeducation is an advantage, but that men and women must not overstep. At least three of his evenings weekly are given over to such contact with the students.

Perhaps one-third of the fraternity group go to church every Sunday. Pastor —— has the greatest influence on the student body. We have him to dinner quite often; always has something real good to tell us. He is a good mixer with the fellows.

I do not like the minister. He reads his sermons. I am bored to tears. I never go to Sunday school.

A fraternity man in a small college for men described more than one fraternity's attitude on church attendance:

The churches make an effort to get in touch with the fellows, but mostly all they do is to get the names from the registrar and send out letters. We force the freshmen in our house to go once every Sunday, so that they can get acquainted with the townspeople and give the fraternity a little standing. We do not hate the church, but we just want to sleep.

A leading woman student, a senior in a large state university, explained certain student attitudes toward the churches:

—— said that she had gone through three years of college without being interested in church work. This year —— asked her to be chairman of the Open House Committee. She had thought this a worthwhile broadening approach to church work, and willingly consented. She had never entered church work previously because the church was "always after you—never left you alone." Its meetings were not æsthetic, she missed the spiritual enthusiasm; people got up and prayed words and phrases that were prayed as though they meant nothing. She resented organization of religion. There were many other things to do with your time while at college. You

> are there not primarily to help others, but to train yourself so that you may be of service later on.

A sorority leader said that the church was not an important factor in the college, adding:

> The trouble with the church is that it gives the same thing all the time. There is not enough emotional appeal in the service.

In addition to the students themselves, a large number of faculty members, pastors, and others discussed the relations of the local churches to the student body. The authors have endeavored to select for quotation comments that they regard as fairly representative.

A prominent alumna, a governing officer of a state university, regarded the church as "a negligible moral influence on the lives of students":

> It does not determine their religious life. They determine it for themselves. Some time ago an effort was made to have a non-denominational center off campus where all denominations would combine in working with the students. The effort failed and with it, I believe, the best chance for the churches to have an influence on the student life.

A professor described one of the problems of the minister in a university community:

> I believe a university church might help solve our campus situation. The intellectual approach is necessary. Ministers in ordinary churches have a hard job. Have to talk to bricklayers and students at the same time. Nine-tenths of sermons misjudge the audience. The average minister is not able to reach the student intellectually.

A dean in a large state university endorsed the churches in spite of certain weaknesses:

> We believe the churches of the town are a positive influence and play a real part in developing our students. We, therefore, put the pictures of the city churches in our catalogues.
>
> I am sorry the sectarian individualism entirely breaks down united effort. The outstanding students in scholarship are not the outstanding religious workers.

An experienced woman, in close touch with student life at another state university, pointed out a tendency of students to keep their knowledge in separate compartments:

> Probably no student lacks the invitation and the inducement to enter into relations with the church of his choice and its activities. Students who so desire may get through the church careful religious interpretation of their scientific teaching, which has a real constructive value. Yet so little do some of them think, that it often happens that the teaching in science and psychology is accepted without its penetrating into their religious life at all.

The wife of a professor in a large metropolitan university described a successful church:

> Many students go to the —— church. The pastor there has a large Bible class. A Sunday dinner is provided. Many also attend the campus Sunday services. The churches do a great deal for the students and offer them much social life. The young people in general are opposed to dogma and the simplicity of —— church attracts them. The one statement to which they are asked to subscribe is belief in "the example of Jesus, and a determination to follow in his footsteps."

A professor in a state university described an effective course in a church:

> I conduct a Sunday seminar entitled "Open Discussion of Personal Problems." The first semester there were eight; then twenty, fifty and later about one hundred. We have no set program, and all kinds of problems are discussed. This leads to personal conferences.

A professor in a large state university noted that the churches were "very active":

> At the —— church banquet several hundred were turned away. The cathedral is drawing great numbers of students.

A professor in a large state university made a suggestion for the consideration of national church boards:

> Visiting ministers often speak of the inspiration that comes from addressing such young audiences in church; it would be a fine investment on the part of church boards if each of them saw to it that pulpits here were filled with big men of fine personality since the returns in young life enlisted for service and leadership ought to be very large.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

The preceding section has dealt chiefly with typical local churches in college communities, primarily dominated by local interests. In contrast with these, there are in a number of uni-

versity centers, chiefly at state universities, certain denominational foundations seeking to serve the religious life of students, especially of students of their own denominations. These efforts, developed for the most part within the last twenty years, are not yet fully standardized.

Most of the churches taking up this specialized work among students began by placing in the university community a church representative, usually called a university pastor. Such pastors work in various relationships and with methods largely individual. Some are closely related to local churches and work as assistant pastors. Others work independently of the local church, but in harmony with it. Many have made their residences their chief seats of operation, and others have established student headquarters incorporated as denominational "foundations." In connection with a few state universities, notably Illinois, they have developed churches with a predominantly student-faculty constituency, sometimes independent of local churches of the same denomination.

The chief points of emphasis in the work of university pastors are as follows: First, personal pastoral counsel, a form of work not provided for by the university, by the typical local churches, or by student Christian associations; second, the fostering of group social life and activities under religious auspices; third, the provision of non-credit voluntary courses and discussion groups, led by faculty members, graduate or upperclass students, and frequently by university pastors themselves. In a few cases such courses have received university credit by special arrangement. Most of the university pastors devote much more attention to pastoral work than to preaching and corporate worship.

Among the twenty-three institutions studied, these specialized denominational efforts were found to be most fully developed at the following universities: Cornell, Michigan, Illinois, Kansas, Wisconsin, Chicago, Pennsylvania, Princeton, and to some degree at Yale. Six of these are state or partly state universities while three are privately endowed.

The authors have selected the excerpts immediately following as presenting descriptions of typical denominational activities.

A faculty member, active in specialized church work at a state university, described such work as follows:

Our university pastor has done a wonderful work. He lives in the university parish house and often interviews students from morning until late at night. A social program is conducted at the house. He writes to pastors of the state in May and June for the list of those who are coming to the university. The pastors have been very good about replying. We have a committee of the church, mostly of students, who meet the trains and help students find their way in the town.

We hold a welcoming social in the church. Our next move is to invite students to become associate members. About half of the students who attend become members. Over two hundred this year. About fifty of these joined as regular members. Quite a number came in on confession of faith. Our Sunday program at the church consists of social and discussion hours; supper and Christian Endeavor service. At 12 o'clock the student pastor addresses the students on subjects of their own choosing. The average attendance is between forty and fifty, sometimes a hundred.

We hold two banquets each year, addressed by the most prominent men we can secure. We have no trouble in securing capacity houses.

We have a student cabinet of fifty members, divided into committees. They meet on Tuesday evening. This is not a religious meeting, though religious topics are discussed. Non-religious students often come in. But at the church service we make a Gospel appeal. Students do not want another lecture. They have plenty of that during the week.

A pastor of a student church thus described his organization and its activities:

There are between 400 and 500 [of a given denomination] on the Hill, 283 of whom are members of the [denominational] Association. There are also about fifty families which attend the church services. There is no local [denominational] church. The Association gains its members through personal work. Members of the church council arrive a week before college opens in the fall to get ready for freshmen. Freshmen who have given their preference as the —— church are called upon in the fall and told of the Association. As [members of the denomination], it is assumed that they will join. A few weeks later they are again called upon, this time with the regular pledge card, asking them for their yearly pledge. The students do not have to present a "letter of transfer" from their home church. They merely participate while at college and as alumni are called upon for a yearly contribution.

The new church building is a tangible result of student

effort. The synod backed the church, but $25,000 of its cost was donated by an alumna.

The Association is accomplishing what its promoters primarily started it for, to line up young men for the ministry. The Association has two women missionaries, one in Japan, one in India. It has also been known to have an influence in bringing the families of its members back into the denominational churches in their home towns.

Some of the leading young people on the Hill are members of the Association. It has a representative on the men's student council, a crew man, a leader among senior girls, who is a Phi Beta Kappa of junior year. Fraternities have been invited in turn to the Sunday evening meetings.

A faculty member in a large state university described a student church:

Five masses are held every Sunday at the —— church in order to accommodate all the students who wish to come and another may soon need to be added. There are about 1,400 students affiliated with the —— church, and the Association, manned by students, is very large.

A university pastor summed up significant elements in a five years' experience at a large coeducational university:

My main purpose has been, during these five years, to bring to undergraduates, chiefly as individuals, some real and first-hand experience of the Master, for it has been borne in upon me more and more that these alumni of our Sunday schools are densely ignorant of the claims of Christ upon the life of an individual or a nation, and that they have not the least idea what Christianity is all about.

Mine has been a missionary task, and I have tried to begin at the beginning, rather than with the theological and technical aspect of our faith. I have endeavored to produce belief in Jesus Christ rather than assent to beliefs about Him. This has brought me into the most intimate contact with the lives of not a few of my boys and girls. I have been privileged to see something of what we call "the problem of youth"; and I see youth as the most hopeful phenomenon of our perplexed day.

I have made every effort to bring myself into contact with undergraduates, especially during the first months of their residence. This has involved a great deal of calling and seemingly futile running about, but I believe it to be an essential principle in such a task as mine has been, for once they have begun to think of their pastor as little more than an official—a sort of ticket-taker for the Kingdom of Heaven, or a truant officer for the church —— they will keep him at arm's length.

My boys and girls have learned to know me as a friend and through that relationship I have been able to come closer to them than had I adopted other methods.

The growth of the nine o'clock students' services, which are a sort of thermometer indicating how things stand, is the result of these contacts. For five years, right through the bitter months of winter, Sunday after Sunday, have come boys and girls of every type, in steadily increasing numbers, to share this hour together on a sort of spiritual hill-top in God's presence. This year we had twenty-six of these nine o'clock student communions, up to Easter, at which the total attendance of undergraduates was 1,776, being a weekly average through the winter of 68. The largest attendance on any Sunday was 181.

Another university pastor, a fundamentalist, described his work and viewpoint as follows:

I represent the —— and —— synods here. We have purchased a lot and will build a $150,000 church. We differ from the other wing of our church which is represented here, as conservatives versus liberals. We are closed communion, closed pulpits, opposed to Masons, Oddfellows and other secret religious organizations. The other wing is less strict. We are all fundamentalists. We put our emphasis on the atonement, salvation through the church, the inerrancy of the scripture, the direct witness of the Holy Spirit. The real church is invisible.

There are about 400 of our students here: 75 have no interest in our work, 75 drift, 75 are lax, and 175 are really loyal.

We hold that evolution is absolutely inimical to the Christian position. The basis of Christianity as I see it is non-intellectual. The Bible can become known as the work of God, and authoritative, only when the spirit of God speaks directly to our spirits. Many students are coming to me personally for conferences on this point. If the word of God comes into direct contact with them, they will learn the truth. The whole faculty attitude in philosophy here is naturalistic. This has a serious effect on my students. There is no possible development here in religion except with individuals.

Such specialized efforts by the churches as have been described were the subject of frequent comment in the interviews. In the quotations that follow the authors have attempted to give a representative sample of the opinions expressed, both favorable and adverse. The favorable opinions are presented first.

A sophomore woman at a state university had found friends in the specialized church of one denomination:

> The church student activities are splendid. Mr. —— has a wonderful wife who is most kind to all the girls. In the church everyone seems to want to know everyone else. There are forty or fifty at Young People's meeting.

The influence of the university pastors, with, as one faculty member put it, "their high idealism and their interest in the higher things," was frequently mentioned, as in the following quotation by a recent alumnus of another state university:

> The constructive side of my life in college developed most through the influence of the university pastor and the extra-curricular university lectures on religion. I was a constant attendant at his classes. His was the most wonderful influence. He shows that men throughout the Old and New Testaments were like men today. He refers much to science. He taught a course all one year on "Science and the Bible," and led me to be interested in that which leads beyond reason into feelings and therefore into religion.

A student at another state university thus paid tribute to a virile minister:

> The chief influence is —— himself. He proves that a man can be religious without being a sissy. He is the sort of person one would like to go to for personal advice and counsel.

The value of personal interviews was also emphasized by a member of the faculty in a large state university:

> The tendency to help students solve their actual difficulties is growing. The university pastors are in a position to do this best. In fact, I think this their particular field. It can be done only in private interviews. It is a great thing for a young man in a crisis if he can go to some level-headed fellow and talk over the actual crisis.

The denominational foundations were described by the hostess of a residence hall for girls as "broad, tolerant, and free from denominational jealousy," while an administrative officer thought them "the real solution of our religious problems."

A prominent student in a state university told of his debt to a specialized church that was made up almost wholly of students:

> Religious life means more to me than it did. When I was a freshman, my father, grandfather, and closest friend all died within two months. When you are on your own resources, religion comes to mean more. My religious life has broadened.

A professor in a state university described another specialized church:

> The [denominational] state organization has committed the student work and its university pastorate to the care of our local church. The church has now appointed a board to develop the work. The state is ready to help this church in a large building program in order that it may serve the students. We have about 1,000 students and an active university pastor. Have a very active Christian Endeavor Society. This church takes the students in as associate members.

A freshman in a state university commended the opportunity offered to students to share in the management of a foundation:

> Church life is inspiring and interesting. The church is always crowded. Many of the campus churches offer affiliated membership. The —— foundation offers participation in control to the students, and there is graded training for leadership.

The other side of the picture is presented in the following critical comments on specialized denominational efforts.

A professor described the complexities of the situation at a state university as follows:

> The religious situation here has been very discouraging for a number of years; there is a deep latent opposition to religious efforts. Before the war the university was religious; also during the war; now there is indifference. The number of faculty men members of the churches is large. The foundations, however, are not reaching very far. University pastors do not do what they could. The lack of coöperation is now the bane. Bible chairs do not seem to have realized what we had hoped. The local church approach is very weak. We are now working on a school of religion with a credit system involved. The majority think science and religion are irreconcilable. I think a good scientist is the very person to be a good Christian.
>
> Not many faculty members work at organized religion; most of them are afraid to. College teachers are the most defenseless of all people. Any newspaper can ruin a man, and many faculty men feel it is risky to be known as religious. A certain faculty group in our scientific departments use every opportunity to put a knife into the religious beliefs of students.
>
> The scientific dogmatist is the greatest dogmatist of all. They go out of their way to unsettle students. Students go to the bad through their influence and throw all religion overboard.

A professor, chairman of the Y. M. C. A. board of directors in another state university, expressed pronounced views against denominational efforts, as he had found them:

> Nine years ago, when I became active in religious work in the university, there were five university pastors, and the Y. M. and Y. W. secretaries. About all they did was to fight. These pastors are about the last persons to meet the really important needs of students. I have been constantly opposed to university pastors. The essential spiritual expression of the student should develop in such a way that, when he returns to his community or goes into any other community, he is not conscious of spiritual superiority but is conscious of his spiritual responsibility.

One university pastor spoke of the denominational foundation of which he had charge as "a settlement house for students," and said that the plan was to build a dormitory, a small church, and a service house. A visiting professor observed of this house:

> The air of the church house was that of a social club, with no purpose other than students meeting one another, playing checkers, chatting, and popping corn or working up a banquet. No evidence of a great cause was present. The men on the job seemed distinctly incapable and poorly prepared for their task. Students will not rally strongly to such men and certainly not to such a program.

A senior student in a state university was critical of the ministers:

> The churches seem to me to have little influence. The preachers are poor. They leave unproved just what I want proved. They jump to conclusions. They assert that everybody needs the spirit of Christ. But for what reason? And how in the world are you going to get it? I have little contact with pastors or student pastors. Folks do not go to them much for interviews.

PROVISIONS BY RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS OF STUDENTS

Student religious associations, in addition to those already mentioned in connection with churches, were found in all but one of the institutions studied. Chief among these were the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations.

CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS FOR MEN

From the viewpoint of leadership, student Young Men's Christian Associations are of two main types: (1) those under student

leadership, having no employed graduate secretary, and (2) those having paid secretaries.

Student Young Men's Christian Associations having no employed graduate secretary were found in five of the smaller institutions: Grinnell, Amherst, Wabash, Swarthmore, Bucknell. Student leadership, under the guidance of faculty counsellors, is depended upon for formulating policies and carrying out the work of these associations, and additional counsel and direction are provided by state or regional travelling secretaries of the Y. M. C. A.

The opinions expressed in the interviews, as well as the authors' own observation, left little doubt as to the superior efficiency of the associations with paid secretaries. That associations without secretaries may and do play a useful part is indicated in the following comment by a member of the faculty in a small coeducational college:

> The Y. M. is an effective agency on the campus. It cares for certain student activities such as the torchlight parade, the general reception in the fall to the freshmen, parties every Sunday evening in faculty homes, deputations to prep schools and churches, Wednesday evening and Thursday noon meetings for devotions.

Nevertheless, the following statement by the president of the senior class in a small college for men, which was confirmed by a professor in the same college, was probably more representative of the general run of comment on this type of association:

> I have not had much contact with the Y. M. but I hear it spoken of. There is no secretary. It is run by a student cabinet, and the cabinet is all there is to it. There are no religious meetings, but there is a little work with boys of the grade schools in town.

Student Young Men's Christian Associations having employed secretaries, ranging in number from one to five, were found in eight of the institutions studied: Illinois, Kansas, Chicago, Wisconsin, Ohio Wesleyan, Dartmouth, Princeton, and Yale. The Associations at Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Cornell also have secretaries but they are not of the "standard type," although the last two are affiliated with the national student Y. M. C. A.

The testimony that follows does not give a full presentation of the work of any one association, but the authors believe that it furnishes a fair array of sample opinions on which to base an appraisal of the influence of these associations as a whole.

A secretary in a large coeducational university spoke of the policy and program of his association as follows:

> Our Board of Directors is one of the best boards anywhere in the country. We do not believe in the Y. M. as a clearing house for the denominations. We want a really religious work. Our total budget is $30,000, all of which we earn, except $6,000. The board also wants strong student initiative and does not want a large staff. We feel that the staff should consist of the general secretary, to handle the larger aspects of the work; a religious work specialist for meetings and discussion groups, and one more. We have clung to the principle of undergraduate leadership, sometimes as many as sixty discussion groups being in operation. We worked out a development here in world thinking with several professors. Sherwood Eddy got tremendous crowds. His talks were open to discussion. I would never have a religious conference without discussion. The men stayed on until late in the evening and talked with Eddy. The third man on our staff we plan to have a business man. We are very glad that the most prominent undergraduates are in our work, and that it is one of the most popular campus activities.
>
> Sick visitation occupies a good deal of attention, including distribution of magazines, writing paper, a victrola on wheels, personal telephoning and errands. Interviews with sick men are very important. Our foreign student work is also large.
>
> We have established two memorial loan funds which have aided some 2,000 students in the last few years.
>
> We have made a start on preparing men for religious work as a vocation. Twenty men here are looking toward the ministry. We are preparing for four types of religious work —preaching, religious administration, rural work, and young people's work. As these courses are already given in the university, they are credited and the president has promised us that, as soon as we can prove sufficient demand, additional specifically religious courses will be given. He recognizes the Y. M. and the Y. W. as representing the non-denominational interests here.

A faculty member said of this Association:

> The Y. M. is doing a wonderful and powerful work here. The secretary has great influence over some of the students, though there is opposition.

A leading professor of science in another large university spoke of the unique value of the Association if it is well led:

> —— is a very strong leader. He has dedicated his life to this task. We have less trouble with finances now than at

any other time. There is no such friction here as at ——. The moving spirits here are bigger men. It is interesting to watch the ordinary type of pastor come into the university work. He has to be remade and shown the importance of coöperative work.

The Y. M. has a place no denomination can fill but is an organization any denomination can use. It has entrees which no sectarian pastor can get (such as information from the university) because it is a student organization. The church cannot do the job alone here. If the Association is properly handled it is accepted by the students like other student organizations.

A dean of men in the same university said:

The Y. M. has justified itself many times over. There is a very fine relationship with the churches. A difficult problem is: How to enlist a large number of people and give them something to do that is practical. The assignment of definite tasks is a herculean job.

A member of the faculty in another large university told of the varied activities of the Association:

The secretary is doing a great piece of work; doing things almost alone as yet. He is open-minded. He helped in the Indianapolis Convention, when about thirty or forty went. The Y. M. held a series of five noon-day luncheons before Christmas and five after Christmas, using labor topics and labor leaders. The churches put on Sunday evening luncheons and young people's meetings for the students. Several other churches could serve the situation splendidly if they would.

The secretary of a Christian Association in a large college described the effort to make both membership and activities more intensive:

The Christian Association has gone through a big change recently by increasing student participation and by trying to make it a spiritual force. We believe it isn't justified as a service bureau. It has to be put on a spiritual basis. Now it has an interested group, focusing on the life of Christ. Twenty to twenty-five men are going to the summer conference. Student control tends to make a real need for a graduate secretary. Church work should be united with the Christian Association and vice versa as far as possible. The new move has lost us some men who call us "Christers." We are going on with the boys' work and deputations and with rural Sunday schools. We send deputations to schools, cities,

> country towns, and so forth. We are now on the regular Y. M. membership basis and have a special personal basis. No one can sign up as a member until he has talked with some one of the members.

The quotations just cited exhibit the Christian Associations at their best. It is apparent, however, from the comments of faculty members that follow, either that the Associations are not always seen at their best or that opinions differ radically as to what their "best" ought to be.

A professor in a state university confessed himself somewhat perplexed:

> The Y. M. is trying but it does not take hold. The leaders are good men, too. There is fine coöperation with the university pastors. I don't understand why it isn't effective. The only hope of appealing to college students is through the presentation of a liberal point of view. Students take interest and become active as soon as they are led to take responsibility.

A university officer described the difficulties of the Association in another large university:

> The Y. M. is in doubt about its own function and is having a very hard time. The secretary is a good man, too, I think. The social work with the foreign students is good. The president of the university is very friendly to the Y. M. We have not developed the deputation work as much as we might, although we have tried. The social service is effective. There is no active Bible work. We tried to have discussion groups in the fraternities but got no assistance from the faculty.

A professor said of this same Association that it lacked student support:

> The Moral and Religious Committee of the university held a four-hour discussion about the Y. M. Conditions are such that some faculty members feel it must be done away with. It is not the expression of interest on the part of students, but is rather an imposed organization. It is not the Association's fault that it is attacked nor entirely the fault of the personnel, but rather of the fraternities. Work in the Y. M. is discouraged and ridiculed. The men have not felt that it was their responsibility. If the organization had a deficit, the city Y. M. made it up. Students have no pride in it.

A dean in a small university criticized the program as too narrow.

> The Y. M. is not accomplishing what it used to, nor do I think it will. Its program is out of date. Some 600 men are members but the program does not utilize all of these men. Secretary —— of the city Y. M. thinks its program is altogether too narrow.

The following stricture was made by the dean of a coeducational university:

> The place where the organization seems to be least effective is in its influence in classroom, in fraternity groups and in the general social life of extra-curricular activities. According to the consensus of judgment of many present leaders both among faculty and students, the establishment and maintenance of moral and religious standards as a result of the organization's influence are difficult to locate. Slowly but nevertheless with recognizable actuality it has, over a period of from three to five years past, been contracting in the activities which are distinctly religious and moral in influence.

Testimony on both sides of the question was also heard from students. From the approving comments the authors select the following for quotation.

A senior student, president of a Y. M. C. A. in a small university, said:

> The Y. M. reaches the ungrouped men better than the grouped. It provides rooms, jobs and some social life. It has a good program for foreign students, inviting them to parties at Thanksgiving and Christmas. Few fraternity men come to the Y. M. I believe their lack of interest is due to fraternity men having homes of their own and being content with the fellowship of their own groups.

A junior student in the same university also thought that "the Y. M.'s great work is with the boys not in the fraternities."

On the other hand, the football manager, a senior in this university, was aided by the Association in stimulating religious expression in his own fraternity:

> The Y. M. has been the instrument by which I have been able to express my sincere religious sentiments and attitudes. It has helped me more than the churches did. I had a real task in the Y. M. My task was to stimulate religious expression in my own fraternity group. Fifty to 60 per cent. responded. Each man in the fraternity takes his turn in leading a weekly religious discussion.

A senior student, prominent in activities in a large state university, stressed the service of the Y. M. C. A. to unaffiliated and foreign students:

> The Y. M. has a strong influence on the campus. It reaches the social organizations, but also the non-grouped and the foreign students, and for these last it provides club life. It furnishes employment for students. It forwards campaigns for European and student relief, maintains missionaries in the East. It is a very stabilizing moral influence.

Another prominent senior spoke of the broadening influence of student conferences:

> I have had much contact with the Y. M. I have felt I could drop in any time, either for advice, or not, with ——, or ——, or ——. Friendship, rather than official conferences is their important contribution. I went to two state Student Volunteer conferences, two summer conferences, and to the Indianapolis Volunteer conference. The summer conferences fairly opened a new world to me. My race prejudices, which had begun to break down at the summer conference, were certainly swept away at Indianapolis. There was something in that great body of students from all over the United States and Canada, which opened my eyes.

A senior in a medium-size university for men described the freshman discussion groups as "fine," although, he added, "the fellows who need them most don't come."

A junior in a large coeducational university thus summed up the services of the association:

> The Y. M. is trying to conserve any religious interest the student has when he comes and to develop service. Membership is on a service basis. We had twenty-one discussion groups in fraternities on Christianity and Nationalism. Over 300 attended. We also sponsored Holy Week services in connection with the Y. W.
>
> We have a church coöperation committee of the cabinet, which informs churches concerning their incoming students. We have no committees in which the church and the Y. M. combine in making plans, although we are very friendly. Another effort of the Y. M., in conjunction with the Y. W., is that of work with the foreign students.

The more critical opinions of students as to the Y. M. C. A. are represented by the following selections from testimony received by the inquirers in the interviews.

A senior student on a publication board spoke of the fraternity problems of an Association in a large university:

> The Y. M. is unfortunately a non-fraternity proposition, although the officers are fraternity men. It isn't in a position to benefit the fraternity men. Fraternity men have their own house and their own social life. The Y. M. is not a real influence on the campus.

A prominent senior athlete in a large college commented on the weakness of the Y. M. C. A. program:

> The —— Christian Association is not very effective. It has no program other than doing some practical service stunts. However, the secretary is getting a much stronger type of student to take part.

A senior editor in a large university declared that religion was considered passée:

> A Y. M. is not an outstanding influence. The secretary is a fine fellow but the campus at large is not interested in him or it. Lack of interest in things religious is the only reason. It is just "not the thing" to be religious.

VARIATIONS IN EMPHASIS AND PROGRAM

The programs and emphases of the Student Christian Associations referred to in all the foregoing excerpts are similar. In the Associations of two men's universities, however, a few leaders have stood for a distinctive emphasis. They have stressed personal interviews for bringing about confession of sin, especially with reference to the sex life, and for securing complete "surrender to the will of God." This special emphasis was temporarily so extreme as to lead many of the men interviewed at those institutions, in 1924, to refer feelingly to it, but since that time it has been considerably modified. The religious conceptions held and the methods employed by this group of leaders are set forth in the following statement by two of them:

> It is the God-guided, supernatural basis of our work which is important to us. Organization is secondary. We say to an undergraduate, "God has a plan for your life. The primacy in your life belongs to God's guidance." Surrender to the will of God is obtained in a personal dedication of the man's life. It begins with sin and the need of a savior from sin and fear, from ambition. It implies the willingness to do God's will wherever and however it may lead. Our focus is not on organization, but on the release of personal influence

and the turning of the strongest men into the ministry. We also work in connection with "house parties" where personal work is done.

If we find that a man wants to talk we give him plenty of opportunity, with one man alone, always putting the emphasis on the facing of sin, sensitiveness to the guidance of God and confession of sin. The confession of sin establishes a new relation between the confessor and the man he has wronged and this opens up a new possibility of "reality" between these two men.

There is also group confession of sin, and a growing realization of the meaning of guidance, the power of prayer, and the remedy of Christ's incarnation. With some men there is a cataclysm in their experience. Others gradually begin to speak of the things they have done which were wrong, borrowings which amounted to stealing, apparent deceits, little dishonesties and sex sins, all of which are breaking the contact with God.

The criticism of this method, that it assails the personality and fails to respect the natural reserve of men, is unfounded. There is no forcing an entrance. When any such mistake is made we believe that we have "jumped ahead of the will of God." We try to make an atmosphere hospitable to intimate friendship, confidence and confession. We then find that a question by the leader on a point or two either convicts a man of sin or enrages him. If he is enraged we feel that he is compromising and will not face the moral issue in his own life. This accounts for 75 per cent. of the criticism against our methods. The other 25 per cent. is due to the rashness of immature men who undertake this kind of work without adequate experience.

This statement makes little reference to sex matters, but the testimony of many persons in both institutions showed that in their opinion sex invariably stood out as the chief emphasis.

A professor, prominent in religious work at one of these universities, referred to the leader of this school of thought:

> With regard to the work of ——, I would prefer that he should not come back here nor go to any other institution. We recently had a boy who was troubled about the divinity of Christ. —— said to him, "The fact that you are troubled about this question proves that you are wrong in your sex life." The boy said, "That's a lie. I have kept as straight as I know how."

A student intimately acquainted with the Y. M. C. A. at the same institution said:

> The slogan on the campus regarding this type of work is "Sin, Sex, and Surrender." —— is convinced that if he can show two or three changed men a year it is sufficient. For every three men he gets he repels a hundred. He expects inspiration to follow prayer immediately. If this is not so, then something must be the matter with the boy. Many of the finest men on the campus will have nothing to do with the Association because of this false emphasis.

Sharp issue was taken with these opinions, however, by one of the ablest students interviewed, a Rhodes scholar, who said that the leaders had become more moderate:

> The Y. M. here is strong because of the kind of secretaries we have at the head. Lots of men come to consult them—more than most men suppose. They are quiet and tactful. They can't be too aggressive or they will be condemned.
>
> The "house parties" have a good reputation among most who go. It's a good idea if rightly worked.

The dangers lurking in the very aggressive approach to individuals were keenly felt by several faculty observers, as voiced by a professor of physical education:

> I am in sympathy with much that the Association here stands for, but fear that its present one-sided emphasis often sets up a terrible reaction. Instead of encouraging men to face their moral situation intelligently the leaders urge them to accept some ready-made solution. The vocabulary is rather individualistic and repels men who feel that old-time religious phrases have no meaning for them and are unreal. A man needs all the factors he can get hold of in solving his problem. He needs a net rather than a rope. The young leaders here sometimes fool with things they are not equipped for. Probably more good than harm results, but certainly they repel and sometimes harm men. They do not realize the delicate and complicated interaction of mind and body. They overstress personal religion and the sex complex as though it were the explanation of everything.

CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS FOR WOMEN

Young Women's Christian Associations or their equivalent were present in nineteen of the institutions studied. No effort is made to give a comprehensive picture of their organization or work, but as in the case of the men's associations, the authors have endeavored to select a representative array of testimony. The comments tend to be favorable, and in a number of cases, notably so. Those that follow give a vivid picture of the varied and resourceful ac-

tivities of Y. W. C. A. work, especially in the larger universities.

A senior woman student thus described her impressions of the Y. W. C. A. in a large coeducational university:

> I feel that the freshmen who are members of the Y. W. Commission will be leaders throughout college—that the girl who will be president of the Women's League in her senior year is in the Commission today. That is one reason for the special value of having such a group, trained in principles of loyalty, honor and sportsmanship during their freshman year. The secretary of the Y. W. is a dynamic force. Not a day goes by but her office has been crowded by students who love her. She is wonderful to work with.

A freshman Jewess in the same university spoke as follows:

> You who have never been acquainted with the Y. W. cannot know what a blessing they are to strangers. They fitted me up with a guidebook, map of the campus and got me a room; introduced me to some Jewish girls and the lady who is in charge even kissed me.

In another large state university a method of dealing with the race problem was described by a faculty member:

> The Y. W. functions as a student movement or study group in trying to find Christ's way of life. In this connection we have studied the race question—how to treat the Negro? We have made progress on the racial problem. There has been no spectacular movement, but rather a slow and healthy growth in thought and attitude on the matter. The Negro situation here is rather critical. Negroes are not yet admitted to membership in the Y. W. This last year a group of six Negro girls and six white girls were selected to study Bramley's *Social History of the American Negro*. As it was the first time Negro girls were admitted to the building, there was some objection, but it went through. Out of the discussions grew a real fellowship. When the first sessions came to an end, there was a plea that the group be continued and it soon numbered over thirty members. All of this has brought out an amazing change of feeling. A tea was held for the colored Y. W. secretary who was visiting and both white and colored women came. Two joint forums were held, the first very fine, the second showing a bit more antagonism, but revealing the superficiality of the white thinking and the intelligence of the Negro.

A Y. W. C. A. secretary in another large state university described a process of development in her Association:

> We found it necessary at first to build on the regular lines of a popular organization. There was a tendency, however, to lose sight of spiritual development and expression and so for the last two years, the Association has striven for a special religious emphasis, instead of mere social service activities. Fifty per cent. of the girls on the campus show in some way a desire for spiritual expression. This year there are 150 girls studying the life of Christ by the records and drawing their own conclusions. At the close of last year, the girls met with the advisory committee, put everything on the table and both groups followed up every criticism of the Y. W. After frank discussion they decided unanimously to continue the discussion group work for another year. The Y. W. sets a standard for leadership on the campus. A girl undertaking any work is told that she is as responsible for it as for a regular class, especially the social service work.

Somewhat unusual projects undertaken by Associations are described in the excerpts that follow.

The first tells of service to working girls in mills near a state university:

> Eight girls have been selected from industrial centers of the city to go to university summer school this year. Each is allowed her own choice of study. Her qualifications are "an ability to give and an ability to get." They were chosen with the help of the Industrial Y. W. of the city. This venture in coöperation will cost the Y. W. $600. It is hoped to increase the number who can be sent through summer school next year, and to get students to fill the positions vacated by the industrial girls. Two students have volunteered.

A coöperative nursery was described by the wife of a leading professor in another coeducational university:

> The coöperative nursery is one of the best achievements of the Y. W. It is housed in the women's old gym and cares for thirty-five children from two years and up, from nine in the morning till 4:30 P.M. and there are sixty babies on the waiting list. The children belong to the wives of young faculty professors and to married graduate students. It is the first coöperative nursery of this kind in America and I sometimes feel that it has done more to build up the graduate school than all the professors, since prospective students often choose this institution in preference to other graduate schools because the nursery provides a happy time for the children and gives the mothers freedom to pursue studies. The nursery also offers a practical place for nutrition work. The budget, paid till now by dues, is $2,500, but must be increased to $5,000. Uni-

versity support is being asked. The president is much interested.

A junior member of an editorial board told of deputation work:

> Girls are sent out to the Old Ladies' Home and to churches to teach Sunday-school classes and to visit the sick. Deputations of girls go to the near-by town to give Sunday morning talks in small churches. This college has an astonishing interest in religion. Eighty-four people signed up for the Children's Home this year. As many as 500 come out to the Tuesday meetings. The Christian Association is one of the most efficient organizations on the campus.

A Y. W. C. A. secretary in a college for women described a novel feature:

> The Y. W. is affiliated with the national organization and has about the usual program. The community service committee does good work with the college maids, giving them lessons in dancing, English, typing and sewing, and has a system of substitutes so that the maids can have free time to go away. It also locates libraries of books and magazines for them at convenient points. Such work is especially needed here as the maids are so shut off.

Like the men's associations, the Y. W. C. A.'s were by no means immune from criticism. The authors believe that the more unfavorable opinions are fairly reflected in the four quotations that follow:

> The Y. W. is devotional only. It does nothing off campus. There is no social service and no discussion of foreign affairs. (A senior in a small coeducational college.)

> The Y. W. is stressing candy sales and bazaars more than anything else. The secretary does not lead the religious thought of the college. She is not an outstanding person. What she really does is to write letters to alumnæ to get money to pay her own salary. (A faculty member in a college for women.)

> The Y. W. is narrow. The girls are like sticks. The type of girl you come in contact with through Y. W. is never fresh or clever. (A sophomore class officer in a coeducational university.)

> The Y. W. has a large membership, perhaps 85 per cent. of all the students; but it is not yet a big force. There is much dead wood in the membership. The leaders are now appealing for members on the basis of service. There has been a reaction against platform meetings. The students are overfed with addresses and need the balance of discussion, so

more groups are being provided. (From the report of one of the Inquirers.)

UNITED-WORK CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

The blighting influences flowing from a chronic lack of coöperation were painfully evident at one or two universities.

The chairman of the board of directors of one Association said:

> The relations between the Y. M. and the churches are on the basis of competition. At the election of the last Y. M. president, we had as a candidate one of the most influential and successful men of the university. He belonged to the —— church. We approached him as to whether he would accept. He postponed his decision for two days and the day when he came to the Y. M. to give his decision the pastor stood outside in nervous anxiety.
>
> There are two fields of work for the religious forces of the university: the denominational and the non-denominational. There are some students born and bred and reared in their denominationalism and they will not depart. They will never be lost to the denominations anyway. There are other strong students who are not able to be denominational, but who will take part and express their spiritual life and power in non-denominational ways. For these the Y. M. is the necessary organization.
>
> Our best students here don't care to be identified with the church groups. The university pastors have separated themselves from their local churches in a number of cases and have built up small denominational houses, but they appeal to very small groups. The university pastors are not broad-minded. They are not able to coöperate. I am sure that the Y. M. should not retire from this situation. I think the small denominational attempts separated from the local churches should.

In three of the institutions studied, an interesting method had been worked out of unifying staff, program and control so as to avoid the duplication of effort by religious agencies that existed in some of the larger universities. While this plan obviously may not be adapted to all situations, it is here presented in some detail because it is not widely known. Two of the three institutions were large universities, and the third was one of the smaller state colleges.

The case of the small institution, Massachusetts State College, is presented first. Here, as interchurch secretary, was a minister who represented several denominations and who also worked with

the student Christian Associations. The secretary-pastor thus described his work:

> I am working under and paid by the national church boards of four denominations. I relate myself to the local churches of these denominations and try to get the boys to go to them. We have a go-to-church Sunday in early October. I speak at the churches occasionally. I gave six lectures on the English Bible at the church downtown. I am now giving eight lectures on religious education to the —— Sunday-school teachers. I also assist the students in carrying out deputation work to surrounding villages and towns.
>
> My big task is to get the college to incorporate courses in religious education of a modern type on a credit basis. My present activities are very similar to those of a Y. M. secretary, though I do not deal with the National Y. M. C. A. I hold discussion courses with about ten students in one and fifteen in another. I preach once a year at Sunday college chapel and at week-day chapel several times. I do not believe in compulsory chapel. I should like to have four elective courses offered; a freshman's problem course; the origin and development of the English Bible; comparative living religions; the rise and development of the modern church. I would like to do most of my work through a school of religion. While I have no official relation to the college, yet I am a college man and so recognized. We have an advisory board, composed of faculty and alumni. I help coach the track team, play pool with the boys, go to dances and chaperone. They come to me a good deal for personal talks. We have a Christian Association and a Y. W. C. A. I have worked with them as much as possible.

Another type of coöperative organization more highly developed is found in the University of Pennsylvania. Its staff includes a number of university pastors, representing various coöperating denominations, each in charge of one phase of the united association work. All of the staff are centrally financed and their work is directed by a single board, representing all the coöperating interests. This organization is called a Christian Association, and while independent in method and program, maintains affiliation with the National Y. M. C. A.

The staff members of this coöperative Christian Association were interviewed together and united in the following statement of principles:

> I. The distinguishing principles upon which this type of work is based are as follows:

1. Full joint responsibility and effort in the work of the association.
2. Absolute frankness within the staff.
3. Tolerant spirit and real coöperation.
4. A unity which combines all the Protestant forces at work on the campus.
5. Willingness to include Jews and others in the group.
6. Projection into the church at large of the spirit exemplified here.
7. Presentation of a united program by the Christian forces on the campus.
8. An all-university work which rates as an activity on the campus.
9. Maintenance of normal relationships to church life in the city during the student's four years on the campus, in order that these relationships may continue afterwards.
10. Such organization and supervision of work as will maintain student initiative.
11. Such variety of work as provides a well-rounded experience on the part of the student.

II. Essential points in the history and organization of the Association.

Since its organization in 1901 there had been a gradual evolution from the standard student Y. M. C. A. One university minister who first came on the campus, was joined later by others in united effort. Now the organization is so highly developed that the provost of the university declares no denomination could work on the campus without identifying itself with the Christian Association. Every university pastor becomes automatically a Christian Association secretary, but he also has his pastoral responsibilities in addition. He has a relationship to the entire campus, in that he is a director of one of the campus-wide Christian Association activities.

When a new university pastor is to be sent to the campus, the General Secretary is called into consultation in advance, by the proper denominational authority, in order that the principle of commitment to the united work may be maintained and satisfactory arrangements effected. A central financial system and a single treasury for both denominational and united-work funds have been established. This has held true since 1912.

Historically, the Christian Association took the lead in educating the denominations in regard to this particular form of organization. No denomination has objected to the arrangement. Many leaders have expressed their appreciation of it and it is backed by the national boards of the various churches.

III. The things which sharply differentiate this type of Christian Association from a Standard Y. M. C. A.

This Christian Association is the churches at work on the campus. It cannot do the work that is being done without the churches, nor can the churches without the Association. On most campuses the Christian Association is a competitive agency, rather than a coördinating agency. Here the secretaries have had pastoral and seminary training, so that they are professionally equipped for the work assigned them.

IV. The National Relationships.

The Christian Association has purely voluntary relations with the National Y. M. C. A. No standard program for students is followed. No program of Christian effort is conducted in competition with the churches. The women on the campus constitute a branch of the Christian Association. The secretary of the Y. W. C. A. comes to every general staff meeting. Their work is also financed from the common treasury.

In the third institution, Cornell University, united Christian work is organized upon substantially the same coöperative plan as that just described.

Comments made to the inquirers regarding the usefulness of these two united-work associations were largely favorable in character. A professor remarked:

Is the Christian Association doing its job? Yes, it approaches the measure of its opportunity satisfactorily. It is of great importance to get hold of every interested man. The Association here has a great advantage in its unified system. It has successfully survived a number of changes in both executives and regular staff members.

It coöperates closely with the city churches, which offer great social attractions. The church also makes a service appeal. One thousand men every year work in the settlement and boys' activities. That means we have one man in ten in the university in some form of service. The united staff are rated high among those who know them, but working under the name of religion, they are handicapped. Perhaps half of the student body are indifferent, if not cynical, toward religion. Still many hold definite ideals of their own, without relating them to social ideals or organized religion.

A prominent senior, interested in the Association, said:

I believe in this type of organization, especially when compared with other types. The atmosphere of unity and good-natured chaffing and freedom from friction on the part of

the staff here is very important. The Christian Association, however, is viewed somewhat too optimistically by its own staff. The fraternities are not so much for the Christian Association as the leaders think they are, but in all the strongest fraternities there are some men who are active in it. The individualism of youth is very strong. I thought I was agnostic and broad-minded when I was a freshman, but now I am very happy in this work and am happy they got me to join the church. It is very well planned, getting hold of the key man in each fraternity.

A staff member in one of these Associations asserted that this type of Christian work had been well tested:

> Experience has demonstrated that the success of this plan of work is not dependent on the present staff of coöperative workers. As an illustration of this, in twenty years there have been thirteen changes of denominational staff members and five of executives; three have continued with the staff since the beginning twelve years ago. Also, this staff has furnished two national secretaries of denominational boards of education and one college president.

A senior student on a publication board declared that the work appealed to students:

> The Christian Association is strong and affords to all its members wonderful companionship with the university pastors. It gives to each an opportunity to enjoy his own religious faith and an opportunity to work with men of other faiths. The Association is absolutely without cant or denominational limitations. The average college man wants to get away from sectarianism as much as possible. The majority of students are naturally apathetic towards religion, but the Christian Association develops a working loyalty. Its work is so many-sided that it interests a great variety of men.
>
> The Christian Association also gets hold of men who have gone wrong. First, by personal talks with university pastors or students, who tell how men here have straightened up. Second, by personal visits in students' rooms by university pastors. They get to talking with the man on most anything and from that, lead on naturally to vital questions and decisions.

Another prominent senior student stated that "the students have all the chance they wish to shape the policy and program of the Association."

The president of one of these universities testified to Association efficiency:

> I regard the Christian Association and the group that is associated with it as actually and potentially perhaps the most effective moral force in the university. I know of no other group or organization that is so definitely and actively expressing the spirit of friendship and service as the Christian Association. It is a positive and, in my judgment, an indispensable force for good in the university.

Another administrative officer in the same university explained alumni interest:

> I consider the Christian Association a growing institution. I am sure it is developing in favor. Furthermore, alumni are very much interested in it. In fact, while alumni seem to be immediately interested in athletics, yet their chief interest is in buildings, curriculum, moral tone and religious life. For example, —— makes a unique appeal to the alumni and talks Christian Association and nothing else. Alumni groups keep him talking for hours on what is going on in the moral life. They realize that the Christian Association is the only agency specifically working on character here.

The wife of a staff member spoke of fraternity interest:

> The situation at the Christian Association has greatly changed in five years. The Y Hall was known as the Morgue. —— has changed all this, and by his vision and executive ability has placed the work on a sound basis. The student leaders in football, baseball, the track, attend and are backing it. They are interested from every point of view and are asking for more discussion groups than can be handled by the present executive force. The independents are following the fraternities in this and asking for discussion groups, too.

From the limited amount of unfavorable comment that was heard upon these united-work organizations the authors select for quotation the following criticism by a professor:

> Theoretically, the Christian Association is good. But I get the point of view of the students and they object to the Christian Association because of the type of men who are secretaries. Some, like ——, are powerful, however. The organization is ideal, but the personnel is too aloof. —— led a discussion group in a fraternity house last year, taking up race problems. Some students objected to lugging in religion under the guise of other problems.

A local pastor also raised an interesting point:

> They regard coöperation as an end. It is the duty of a minister to give to the students exactly the kind of church

relationship they can take back to their home churches and uplift the small congregations they come from. The Christian Association is popularizing religion and going a long way to encourage students to participate in worship.

An officer of the student Y. M. C. A. in one of these institutions observed that "the work among women is not as fully incorporated in the united-work as is that among men."

APPRAISAL OF PROVISIONS AND AGENCIES

The central interest throughout this inquiry was the formation of character in students. From this point of view, the religious provisions and agencies operative in universities and colleges have been presented. The authors have no intention of attempting to place the seal of approval or disapproval upon any of these provisions or agencies as a whole. In a measure the evidence and observations just presented should speak for themselves, and each reader, applying to these the touchstone of his own knowledge and experience, should be in a position to make his own appraisal of the provisions and agencies described. Even so, the authors believe that many readers will wish to have, if only for comparison with their own conclusions, the judgments and interpretations, the observations and impressions—it may even be, to some extent, the personal preferences (for these will creep in)—of the inquirers themselves, who in the course of this study had the advantage of seeing these provisions and agencies in operation in twenty-three colleges. In the following pages, therefore, the authors endeavor to give their own appraisal of the material already presented. The appraisal is made on the basis of each of the following six criteria:

1. Is there accuracy in diagnosing and interpreting the needs and aspirations of students?

2. Is an adequate place made for initiative, participation, leadership and control by students in the formulation and execution of policies?

3. Are the persons charged with responsibility such as to aid the development of student character?

4. Are the agencies characterized by a cordial spirit of cooperation and by the coördination of their efforts?

5. Do the number and variety of students affected indicate that the agencies are inclusive and efficient?

6. Are the programs educative and cumulative in their effects on participants?

CRITERION I

Is there accuracy in diagnosing and interpreting the needs and aspirations of students?

The validity of this test needs no defense. It is based on the necessity of laying foundations upon a fresh knowledge of the experience of those for whom religious programs are designed, rather than upon assumptions or traditional conceptions. In the instability and the multiple interests of youth and in the rapidly changing personnel are found the difficulties which all agencies encounter in meeting this test.

The present administrative provisions of religious influences as aids to character formation seem to show that tradition is in the saddle. There is a tendency to travel on the old tracks, whether or not they meet present student needs.

COLLEGE CHAPELS

The administrative provision most obviously failing to match the needs and aspirations of students is found in chapel exercises which have been continued along traditional lines. Compulsion and routine have often irked those conducting as well as those attending them. Student participation has been at a minimum, and the subjects treated have lacked in student appeal.

Fortunately chapels were found in which there was an atmosphere of worship, beauty and dignity, with services that ministered to student needs and interests, and in which the students participated with the feeling that the services were theirs. This desirable state of affairs is more easily achieved in a small college or with various sections of larger student bodies.

CREDIT COURSES

Although, as the testimony showed, a professor was discovered here and there who dealt with living issues in these courses and encouraged the students to express their own ideas, much of the present instruction is based upon a scholastic or homiletic approach, instead of upon student interest and experience. Professors trained in the methods of the graduate schools have transferred these methods without adapting them to undergraduates, stressing minutiæ of scholarship, rather than vital meanings. Superficiality also appears to characterize many of the courses. They are "pipes" and "preachy." As the testimony has shown,

they frequently fail to be as "intellectually respectable" or morally impressive as courses that make no pretense to a moral purpose.

THE CHURCHES

Many students feel that with issues that are vital to them the churches have little concern. They feel that church people are older and wholly local in their consciousness. Immersed as they are in the student world, they regard the constituency of the typical church as socially heterogeneous and intellectually uncongenial. Stereotyped forms and phrases frequently make worship meaningless to them. They impute to the church sterile orthodoxies of thought and overemphasis on non-essentials, or they are disgusted by the splitting of the churches over petty differences, and in rebellious mood they say, "We are going to 'can' denominationalism before we get through with it."

Fortunately, such attitudes as these are not justified by the more progressive churches in the college communities. Many of these churches, especially in the larger university centers, have in recent years made decided progress in meeting the religious needs of students. A considerable number of them, originally local in their consciousness, have recognized their special mission as representatives of the church at large to student life, and have kept their finger on the pulse of student experience. In such churches students find "an interpreter's house."

The recent increases in student populations, especially at state university centers, have necessitated the development of specialized churches in which students predominate, and where attention is focused upon student problems. Some of these churches are under very able leadership and include in their personnel faculty families. Here are found local or "university" pastors who have gained intimate knowledge of student life through their confidential relationships and through persistent study of student problems. There are others, however, who fail to analyze and understand what is before their very eyes and are indeed uninterested in students. In churches composed largely of students, the professors and local citizens often provide a wholesome corrective to the instability and inexperience of changing groups of students. Notable among these are certain mature and discerning women who win the confidential friendship of students and meet their needs with rare wisdom.

THE CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

The college and university Christian Associations, imbedded in student experience as they are, express a first-hand response to certain religious ideals and experiences. Where these Associations are wholly student-led, there is apt to be an inadequate understanding of the deeper issues of student life, as a whole. There is little hard thinking and a too ready imitation of standardized programs. Valuable correctives are at hand in the counsel of faculty members, and of traveling secretaries, as well as the stimulus of summer conferences.

Associations having employed secretaries vary widely in their efficiency in understanding and ministering to student life as a whole. Some of them are contented with "errands and activities" and appeal only to a restricted group type of students. A few Associations are led by secretaries of narrow religious convictions who are unable to appreciate other viewpoints and in consequence alienate considerable portions of the student body. The majority of secretaries, however, understand and wisely minister to student thought and needs.

Certain standardized conceptions, formerly superimposed by national and regional leaders of the Y. M. C. A., have in recent years given place to an inductive approach which is rapidly yielding a fresh understanding of student needs. Courageous leadership has been given in thinking out the implications of Christian principles for industry, race relations, international obligations and war. The leaders have sensed correctly certain new trends in student thinking, and in the summer conferences and on local campuses have provided avenues for its expression.

Several Young Women's Christian Associations have been especially inductive in their methods, following closely the special interests of their members. Their ministry to student life is on this account often remarkably fruitful.

CONCLUSION

The present religious provisions and agencies as a whole rest upon an insufficient diagnosis and understanding of the fundamental moral and religious needs of students. Comparatively few searching inquiries have yet been made. Knowledge of this area has been taken for granted, assumptions have been taken for facts

and imitation or imposition of methods has been substituted for patient inquiry and experimentation.

The most encouraging developments in recent years seem to have come less from the elders, than from the students themselves. The new frankness, the demand for reality, the contempt for formalism and hypocrisy, which characterize students are making imperative a reappraisal of long-accepted ideas and institutions. One of the most encouraging facts is that scientific studies are being begun in this area, and both religious and educational leaders are showing some disposition to accept the findings.

CRITERION II

Is an adequate place made for initiative, participation, leadership and control by students?

The growing demand by students for a larger share in all phases of college and university life is welcomed by some of the more discerning college officials, who recognize that the principle of spontaneous activity should hold a central place in education. It is generally admitted that the principle should be especially observed in the sphere of religion.

This does not mean that students should be left to themselves or that the demands of a few students for complete independence of their seniors in the control of religious agencies should be granted. It does imply, however, the absence of dictation or patronage by officials and seniors.

The chief strain arises from the reluctance of the elders to accord an adequate amount of initiative to student thinking and desire. So far as the inquirers were able to learn, the great majority of students have no desire to cut themselves off from understanding senior counsellors and coöperators. They realize that the dash and enthusiasm of youths who at best spend only a few years in an institution will gain needed balance and continuity if the more permanent religious workers and members of the faculty are welcomed into partnership.

THE CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

The Young Women's Christian Associations seem on the whole to be practising most successfully the art of coöperation between youth and experience. The ways in which groups of women

students are responding to wise guidance were well illustrated in the testimony. For example, in a large coeducational university the Y. W. C. A. leadership was thus characterized by a professor:

> The Y. W. has secretaries who have an inductive approach and willingness to adapt to local needs and forget institutional prestige. They are the equals of any professors I know as stimulators of self-expression. They are life-centered. The Y. W. here is the most effective thing on the campus, though you never see its name or the secretary's name. The women leaders, both faculty and students, have listed the total needs of the women and all the organizations in trying to meet them, and have allocated tasks to the best fitted.

Although some of the Women's Associations fall far short of the ideal, they can fairly be said as a whole to have achieved an exceptional degree of student initiative, participation, and control. Furthermore through their summer travelling speakers, study outlines, conferences, and the European Student Relief they have developed a national esprit de corps and a lively interest in social and international expressions of the Christian spirit.

In the work of the student Christian Associations for men, the principle of student initiative has also been fully recognized and emphasized by the national leaders and in most of the institutions studied. Important results have been achieved, in recent years, in such developments as the fostering of student discussions upon modern social questions, and also in the democratic control by students themselves of national Association policies and programs. Several of the local Associations, however, have failed to combine student initiative with continuity and thoroughness of activity. A professor in a large coeducational institution emphasized this defect:

> The Y. M. has had a wonderful opportunity and a comparatively free field. I cannot help feeling, however, that it has "muffed the ball." It has been responsible for a series of beginnings, year after year, without effective completion of the programs. Its emphasis on student initiative has been made at the cost of sagging failures and much petering out in its efforts. This, I realize, is characteristic of many student organizations where there is no mature guiding hand. What bothers me is why the Associations have not actually achieved a larger efficiency in their local work.

Associations without secretarial leadership seem to be specially subject to this failing. With some exceptions, no adequate pro-

vision has been devised for stabilizing their work upon a high level of efficiency. The degree of student participation, in Associations having secretarial guidance, varies widely, depending primarily upon the personal gifts of the secretaries. While in some cases the programs are determined and directed by the secretaries, in other instances, the secretaries have been markedly successful in quickening full participation by students.

THE CHURCHES

The principle of student initiative, participation, and control appears to have been far less consistently recognized by most of the denominational workers than by the Associations. A student thus commented upon the failure of some local churches to avail themselves of student abilities:

> Some students feel that the churches do not care for them except as they swell attendance. When we try to use our skill or knowledge, they tell us "you are young and don't know!" So why try?

In some churches the students may be generously housed and provided for in the program but be rarely admitted to the inner councils. There is frequently a failure to appreciate that the student has more native experience in connection with the church than with any other religious organization. Where the volume of this experience is recognized and utilized to the full, foundations are laid for the continuance of church loyalty after graduation. United work by the churches in a college community furthers the cause of church unity among students. The testimony indicates that full play is given to student initiative, participation, and control in many of the specialized student-faculty churches. The principle seems to be least recognized by certain teachers of religious courses and by those responsible for college and university chapel exercises.[3]

[3] When this criterion was discussed by a conference of administrators, professors and religious workers held at Columbia University in March, 1927, the significance of free activity and control by students was recognized, but stress was also laid on the desirability of securing joint effort by faculty members and students, and the following finding was adopted:

"We recognize the right and significance of student-faculty initiative in matters of moral and religious development and would encourage the voluntary association of students and faculty for their mutual, moral and religious development and for the welfare of the institution as a whole."

CRITERION III

Are the persons charged with responsibility as administrators, teachers, executives, and student leaders such as to aid the development of student character?

Whenever the inquirers found an institution that had a reputation for unusual success in developing high character in the students, they discovered that there had been personalities of unusual power in the faculty or the administration. A large number of the testimonies received dwelt upon the strong and weak characteristics of the speakers at chapel, the teachers of religious courses, the local ministers and the leaders of Christian Associations.

A professor in mathematics in a large university for men spoke of lectures by professors:

> One of the most effective religious forces in our life here during the last year were the talks given by various professors on the approach to religion. Among these was the head of the department of geology, whose mind is as keen as a knife and who is a great religious force in the life of the students. After the beginning of each lecture it was difficult to secure a seat in the room.

That the character-forming process proceeds so largely by suggestion and the contagion of personal contact is well illustrated in the characterization of three religious workers in a large college for men:

> A.'s problem is lack of accessibility. He's an aristocrat from the word go. His efforts to be popular are somewhat painful. He talks too much about himself and talks down to the students with an air of finality. B. is doing a wonderful work here. He is very receptive. C. is developing rapidly and finding himself. He will be very useful after he gets more mellow and has more of B.'s spirit.

Such comments reveal the fundamental importance of the personality of the leaders of religious agencies. The necessity of adequate professional training was also stressed in a number of the interviews. It is evident that to meet the demands made upon them, pastors and secretaries require more than personal attractiveness or an interest in student life. They need a high degree of training in psychology, philosophy and social science, as well as in historical and biblical studies, but however competent their

scholarship in these fields, the first essential is that they themselves shall be spiritually-minded men. Perhaps the most crucially important need in this aspect of college and university life is to increase the number of such persons.

CRITERION IV

Are the agencies characterized by a cordial spirit of coöperation and by the coördination of their efforts?

The importance of mutual understanding and united effort on the part of the religious leaders in a college community can hardly be overemphasized. Students expect to find among religious agencies, if anywhere, a demonstration of the principles of good-will, sympathetic understanding, and coöperative effort. The essential spirit of religion tends to reproduce itself where these attitudes are present. Where intolerance and rivalry are rife, students are baffled in their best impulses and retarded in their religious life. However desirable the need for harmonious relations among religious agencies in the ordinary community, it is imperative in the college world.

In spite of the large amount of mutual tolerance and united effort discovered by the inquirers, the leaders and the agencies at several institutions were revealed as individualistic, competitive, partisan, and lacking in vision of the task as a whole.

A Y. M. C. A. secretary in a large university traced some of the local obstacles in the way of coöperation back to national officers of the denominations:

> Coöperation has now become an acute national issue. In many places there is local coöperation while nationally there is friction. This national friction is sometimes imported into the local situation. There is much lack of accuracy in statements about the local situations and of Christian generosity on both sides. Religious institutionalism has become established and the friction arises from ambition to exalt the institution, whereas they should put first emphasis upon the service of the kingdom.

In the united-work Christian Associations previously described coöperative relations have reached their closest organized expression, but the spirit of coöperation is apparently as cordial and pervasive in certain places where the various agencies retain their separate identity. A number of college administrators and

national religious executives told the inquirers that they were looking expectantly to these enterprises to help solve some of the religious problems at the large universities.

It would, however, be quite misleading to leave the impression that the voluntary religious agencies alone can meet the situation in the colleges. The administrations, also, have a part to play and, indeed, it may fall to them to take the initiative in bringing all the religious agencies to face the facts together and pool their resources in working out solutions.

Granted that a spirit of good-will among the various agencies is more vital than a coöperative organization, nevertheless there is great need of more centers of experimentation and demonstration in various forms of organic coöperation, where the spirit shall find embodiment. Success may be hardly won. As one witness aptly said, "None of us have yet paid the price of real coöperation." Without the prevalence of this attitude, whatever the means employed, the highest results do not seem to be won. Coöperation at its best constitutes for college men and women a peculiarly impressive evidence of the vitality and genuineness of religion.[4]

CRITERION V

Do the number and variety of students affected indicate that the agencies are inclusive and efficient?

The fifth and sixth criteria need to be considered with reference to each other—the fifth dealing with the permeation of the student body, the test of extension; the sixth dealing with the penetration of individual lives, the test of intensiveness. The fifth is more easily applied, because the data are more objective and immediately available.

In spite of the comparative ease with which this test may be applied, a surprisingly small number of accurate local surveys have been made, and the province of this inquiry did not include detailed local studies. Reference is later made to such a study

[4] In the conference of administrators and religious workers, held in March, 1927, already referred to, it was resolved:

"We consider it of the utmost importance that all churches and related agencies take immediate steps (in line with certain notable steps already taken) to counsel together continuously in connection with their efforts to serve the college men and women of America, and to set up on local campuses the most effective measures of coöperation; and we urge that administrators of every educational institution give this matter their personal attention."

conducted at the University of Michigan, and to two others less comprehensive.

It is obvious that the complete permeation of any modern student body by religious influences is a peculiarly difficult task. The difficulty is due in large part to such factors as the following:

The rapidly changing student personnel.
The multiplicity and overorganization of student interests.
Student absorption in extra-curricular activities, as well as in the requirements of the curriculum.
The difficulty of establishing those personal contacts upon which religious influences so largely depend.
The age of transition in personal standards and beliefs at which students find themselves.
The presence of group attitudes and traditions hostile or indifferent to religion.
The size of all the larger student bodies.
The impression among many students that ethical idealism and science are an ample substitute for religion.

At first sight, the establishment of compulsory attendance at college chapel may appear to cut the Gordian knot. The authors believe, however, that the testimony has made clear that such compulsion may arouse attitudes distinctly antagonistic to religion, and that only those chapels that merit and secure a willing attendance succeed in exerting a pervasive religious influence.

Similarly with regard to religious courses. Where these are required, spontaneous interest and depth of influence tend to be sacrificed to the attendance requirement. The essential factor here seems to be the personality of the teacher and his ability to relate vividly to modern life the materials with which the courses deal.

Perhaps the most easily obtainable test of the amount of student interest in religion is found in voluntary attendance at church worship. The figures already given for answering seniors will be remembered as indicating "regular" attendance, for men 44 per cent., for women 55 per cent. These percentages are probably higher than would obtain for the entire student body of the institutions studied, certainly higher than for the larger universities.

Fortunately a comparative test is available from the University of Michigan.[5] This test was conducted by two students who re-

[5] Compare "Religion at Michigan," by Diekhoff and Staebler, *Michigan Chimes*, February, March and April, 1925.

ceived answers from 562 other students, of whom 19 per cent. of men and 37 per cent. of women indicated regular attendance. Those reporting occasional attendance numbered 65 per cent. of the men and 60 per cent. of the women, percentages which are comparable to the senior results under "occasional" and "seldom," men 51 per cent., and women 44 per cent. The Michigan results show those "never" attending to be 16 per cent. for the men and 4 per cent. for the women, whereas the seniors show "never" by 4 per cent. of men, and 1 per cent. of women.

Similarly, the percentage of seniors answering that the church or other organized religious agency had been an actual help in the development of character (men 73 per cent., women 75 per cent.) is probably higher than would be the case for any single student body as a whole, especially in the larger universities. The makers of the Michigan study held that it showed "that the church and its allied agencies are losing influence." This conclusion is based upon the fact that 36 per cent. of men and 30 per cent. of women attend church less frequently since coming to the university. It is asserted, however, that these percentages are probably no larger than among the group of men and women of like age who do not attend college. The Michigan results also are said to show "that as between the sexes, the larger increase of interest in the work of the church and allied agencies after coming to college is among women, who show a percentage two and one-half times as great as that of the men. This is explainable by the greater attractiveness of young people's societies to women and by the social prestige that women have managed to attach to Y. W. C. A. activity, but which does not adhere to S. C. A. work."

A distinct advance in the efforts of the churches to permeate the entire student body, particularly in the state universities, has been made by the churches through the personal contacts of university pastors with all students of their denominations. In a number of instances these university pastors also pool their efforts in looking up students who register no denominational preference.

Mass meetings and convocations, to which all students of the institution are invited, are a further means of extending religious influences to the borders of the campus. These are arranged either by the institution itself or by the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., or by all religious agencies acting in concert. Such campus-wide efforts to reach the largest possible number of students by means of public addresses are made in a number of

universities three or four times during each academic year, the pre-Christmas and pre-Easter efforts being most notably successful.

Further application of the fifth criterion involves finding out to what extent certain students are outside the influence of all religious agencies. The testimony and the observations of the inquirers indicate that there are many such students in the larger universities, and at least a few in the smaller colleges. They may be classified as follows: Groups in certain fraternities and sororities that have acquired a set against religion; certain more or less isolated, "independent" students; some of the students coming from overseas; and Jewish and Negro students. No accurate studies of the religious affiliations and attitudes of faculty members seem to be available, but it is known that in the larger universities a considerable percentage of them have no religious associations.

It is obvious that whatever the difficulties involved the obligation to permeate these student bodies to their farthest limits cannot be evaded by those who hold that religion makes a fundamental contribution to character. In view of the difficulties already cited, the task will not be achieved except by the use of every available means and by the effective and harmonious coöperation of all the forces.

CRITERION VI

Are the programs educative and cumulative in their effects on participants?

It is admittedly very difficult, if not impossible, to apply this test even to a single agency in all the institutions studied, because methods and emphases differ in different places; but it can best be applied to each agency locally. Even there, however, the factors involved are so numerous and intangible that only an approximate appraisal can be made. The cardinal difficulty in the way of reaching a judgment arises from the fact that no general agreement exists as to what constitutes a religiously educated or spiritually developed person. The verdicts reached would therefore be as various as the points of view or postulates of the judges. There are at least the following five points of view:

(1) The fundamentalist holds that the agencies should enable students "once grounded in the faith" to hold fast to "funda-

mental" doctrines, and not to be uprooted by scientific study of the Bible, or the psychology of religious experience, or "heretical" philosophical conceptions.

(2) The conventionalist's approach is from the angle of moral proprieties. His most rigid test of the agencies is their effectiveness in preventing smoking, drinking, dancing, card playing, or indulgence in lax relations between men and women.

(3) The evangelical puts first emphasis upon sin in human life and the need of redemption from it. He therefore holds that the supreme test of the agencies is their success in applying the power of Christ for salvation from sin and for living a morally transformed life.

(4) The educationalist expects the agencies to lay emphasis upon spiritual development as a gradual normal process in which religion operates in harmony with the whole body of modern knowledge.

(5) The advocate of the social gospel, while concerned for the welfare of the individual, holds that the crucial test of a religious agency is its effectiveness in contributing to a social order in which justice and righteousness prevail.

The inquirers found that practically all the leaders of the religious agencies, whatever their actual viewpoint, were eager to claim that their programs were "educational." The word is felt to be a hallmark of respectability in a college community. Few of them, however, seem to look at the question from the same viewpoint as the authors, which is, that to be genuinely educational a program should grow out of the experience and needs of students of all sorts and conditions, should be evolved and carried out largely by them, and should be broad and varied like personality itself. The mere statement of these requirements makes it clear that no one of the agencies under discussion can justly claim that its program is educational in what the authors believe to be the full sense of the term. Practically all of them fall short even at their best. They can by taking thought add somewhat to their stature; but the most readily available remedy will be for them to pool their resources and supplement one another.

Constructive suggestions for strengthening the religious provisions and agencies will be more intelligible if seen against the background of the chief activities now conducted by them. The following list is derived from the testimony and documents re-

ceived in the various institutions and shows an impressive variety of activities.

Presentation and discussion—

1. Public services in Sunday and daily chapels, church services, special convocations, and series of public religious meetings.
2. Courses of instruction having to do with religious facts and values given in the regular curriculum, in related schools or departments of religion, or in church or denominational schools.
3. Discussion groups and forums upon moral, religious, and social questions.
4. The presentation of opportunities for enlisting in the "Christian callings" as well as insistence on the possibilities for Christian living in any occupation.
5. Provisions for group devotional services through church young people's societies or Christian Associations.
6. Personal pastoral service. Individual consultations upon personal, religious, and vocational problems.
7. Social hospitality extended to students in churches and homes of faculty members, church friends, university pastors and secretaries, and special hospitality to new students by upperclass students and others.
8. The arrangement of employment opportunities for self-supporting students.

Social worship and sacraments—

9. Services of worship in local churches and in chapels of the institutions.
10. Observance of sacraments in local churches.

Social service—

11. Extension meetings and entertainments by students, faculty members, etc., in the churches and schools of near-by communities.
12. Visits to hospitals and other institutions, club work and the operation of summer camps for boys and girls.
13. The development and support of international student friendship and religious extension service overseas.

Wider contacts—

14. Participation in intercollegiate summer conferences, summer schools and projects for summer travel; and training in various forms of social, industrial and religious service.

In the light of these specific activities, the following general suggestions are made.

LEADERSHIP

Doubtless new forms of activity may be demanded to meet new conditions, but the chief desideratum is the more effective development of activities already in force. To this end the basic requirement in most of the institutions studied is an increase in the number of thoroughly qualified persons to give direction to the agencies. If "right things do not happen apart from the right people," local and national agencies may well devote increased attention to an enlarged supply of pastors and secretaries of attractive personality, thorough training and deep religious spirit. Such persons are needed, however, not only as the directors of specifically religious agencies, but also as teachers in all departments of instruction and throughout the administrative and the athletic staffs of these institutions themselves; for it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the religious agencies are only one, and probably not the chief, factor in nurturing character in the students.

COÖRDINATION OF FORCES

The efforts of all such persons must be skilfully unified, for only as a common purpose is given precedence over separate organizational interests can the efforts of all reach their largest usefulness. While the united-work Christian Associations already described have not yet reached an ideal development, especially in the matter of faculty coöperation, their experience is suggestive. Perhaps the most significant feature about them is that each denominational representative is made responsible for one phase of the united work. Where several denominational representatives are found, a unified staff of adequate size is thus provided.

RESPONSIBILITY OF ADMINISTRATIONS AND FACULTIES

The administrators of the college or university should assume a more definite responsibility for ensuring the presence of capable personnel for the religious agencies and for their harmonious functioning. In certain institutions it appears that this administrative responsibility can best be fulfilled by appointing an officer of the university to develop and coördinate all religious provisions and agencies within the institution. Members of the faculty can contribute greatly to the stability and quality of voluntary religious activities by working shoulder to shoulder with the students and religious workers. But both administrators and faculty mem-

bers will need to be on guard to give free play to student initiative, participation, and sense of joint control, on the ground that the principle of voluntary participation is indispensable for moral and religious growth.

Administrative officers would do well to ponder this sharp caution against administrative dominance of religious activities uttered by the head of a department in a coeducational university:

> I know the customary weaknesses of the Christian Associations, especially if they have a poorly equipped secretary, but I know also from experience that the administration can fall down just as miserably. They can command better platform speakers than the Association, but they do not get the students into the game. The students won't work for a religious and social program that is handed down to them. If the administration is going to do anything, the students must be let in on the ground floor and be the major partners.

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

The kind of apologetic for religion that suited the students before the World War no longer fits the situation. There is need for addresses and conferences by faculty members and outside speakers who can set forth the dynamic function of true religion in relation to all the personal and social problems of to-day and can point out the higher synthesis between science and religion.

PERSONAL RELATIONS

Perhaps the most significant new approach to the moral and religious needs of students lies in a personnel counselling service which draws not only upon the historic contributions of religion but also upon all the resources of modern science, physiology, psychology, psychiatry and sociology. All of these will be placed by the personnel counsellor at the disposal of the individual student in the reverent and sympathetic spirit of religion. This manifestly requires the service of older men and women who have proved themselves to be such counsellors.

In conclusion, it should be clear that there rests on leaders in education an inescapable responsibility for making the religious provisions and agencies comparable in scope and efficiency to the most advanced development in any other academic discipline.

Chapter IX

THE FACULTY

THE QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION

To the authors it appears axiomatic that the main function of the college teacher is teaching. If his teaching is good, it tends directly to improve undergraduate morale; if his teaching is poor, it tends directly to impair that morale. This applies not only to intellectual morale in particular, but to general morale: for the sense that a man set in authority over you is doing his job poorly is a natural cause of general discouragement and dissatisfaction, and the sense that a man set in authority over you is doing his job well is a stimulating challenge to responsive achievement.

The testimony gathered with regard to the present quality of college teaching dealt in the main with five phases of the problem: (1) the assignment of incompetent teachers to underclassmen; (2) the subordination of teaching to research; (3) the excessive size of classes; (4) the disregard of progressive educational methods; and (5) low salaries as a cause of poor teaching.

ASSIGNMENT OF INCOMPETENT TEACHERS TO UNDERCLASSMEN

The inquirers came to the conclusion that the assignment of incompetent teachers to freshmen and sophomores constituted in some cases a well-marked grievance. At any rate a few complaints on this score were heard in five of the twenty-three institutions visited, and among the five were included both colleges and universities and private as well as state institutions. No mention of this grievance was made at any women's college, one reason perhaps being that at most of the women's colleges there are no graduate students to be assigned to the teaching of underclassmen.

A student in an independent men's college said on this subject:

> The faculty are mostly very young and inexperienced, and somewhat smitten on themselves. I have had three young instructors who based everything on technical marks and had no personal sympathies whatever. A few of the older professors keep very closely in touch with their students.

A leading senior in a coeducational independent institution said:

> The faculty are sliding backward. Upperclass students are given teaching fellowships, a sign of weakness in the faculty. There are a few men who are really interested in students. The others are pretty much down in a rut.

A junior and a freshman in a state university made the two following comments:

> Some professors are widely travelled and fine to meet. We are lucky in the type of faculty in the Commerce School. Some of the young instructors, on the other hand, are very poor as teachers. They have no experience and know little about the subject.
>
> I decidedly object to the fact that it is largely graduate students who teach us freshmen.

Two students in a large endowed coeducational university thus expressed themselves:

> The first two years we don't have very good teaching. Too many young graduate students conduct classes. One could get better teaching in small colleges the first two years. But the last two will repay one for staying through the first two.
>
> Often graduate students do the teaching of freshmen and they have large classes. The student has no inclination to approach the professors because they are so wholly engaged in their own work. But in the junior and senior years, the professors do influence the students greatly. The reason is that they know how to teach. The men who really teach are the great influences in the university. The younger teachers, who spend their time trying to improve their status with the higher-ups, don't help much.

Another student spoke of "young Ph.D.'s with no particular capacity for teaching," and the president of one of the smaller coeducational colleges paid his compliments to the same type of teacher:

> I have grown very wary of the Ph.D. One of them was recently recommended to me by a placement bureau secretary who wrote "I think this man will do good work in spite of his Ph.D." I look over the Ph.D.'s with special care to see whether their focussing on a detailed, narrow and sometimes meaningless research subject has made them useless as teachers.

A half dozen other administrators spoke in similar vein. A professor who has for years been helping to turn out doctors of

philosophy commented thus on the nature of the discipline required to win the doctor's degree:

> The process often takes the vitality and enthusiasm and human sympathy right out of men. It dwarfs their humanity. They get a false set of values. Their lodestone is generally academic credit, not a lively problem whose solution is vital to human welfare.

SUBORDINATION OF TEACHING TO RESEARCH

The experience and observation of the authors have convinced them that the idea of research, dominant in the training of candidates for the doctor's degree, remains very largely dominant in the minds of men who have been through the graduate experience, and becomes naturally dominant also in administrative estimation. The authors do not, however, wish to be misunderstood. While they desire to point out the drawbacks of partiality toward research, it is not their intention to minimize the absolute importance of it, or to question its great value for those college teachers who have the aptitude for it, as a means both to their own intellectual growth and to the kindling of intellectual eagerness in students that are allowed in some way to share in the process.

The tendency to sacrifice teaching to research was found to be most marked in universities where graduate work is emphasized, but it is serious also in independent "liberal colleges" of grade-A rank. There are, in the opinion of the inquirers, three reasons why certain grade-A colleges also have the problem. One is, that the first-line universities, like major planets, exercise a tremendous attraction, and their emphasis on research tends to deflect some liberal colleges from their supposedly fixed orbits. The second is, that the publications and discoveries of research professors have high advertising and fund-raising potency. The third is, that the high scholastic standards and the good salaries generally prevailing in grade-A colleges attract men who have research ability. None of the witnesses at women's colleges discussed the problem, but the inquirers noted some signs that it is present also in the larger and more advanced of these institutions.

The dilemma was thus phrased by the president of an endowed coeducational university:

> How shall we reconcile the two demands made upon our college teachers: on the one hand for productive scholarship and research, and on the other hand for time-consuming per-

sonal friendship with students? A possible reconciliation is that we have two types of men—one for each kind of work. But I am not satisfied with that proposal. The Ph.D. men are sometimes dried up and useless for personal friendship. On the other hand, mere personal friendship is worth little unless the teacher is himself achieving new conquests in his own department and is in touch with the growing scholarship of the world. To be "a good fellow," to be sympathetic and friendly, has very little educational value unless the teacher is himself increasing in scholarship at the same time.

A professor in a university for men expressed somewhat the same ideas, emphasizing the difficulty of discovering the teacher-scholar:

> Professors influenced by the German idea have turned toward scholarship, to becoming specialists, to turning out Ph.D.'s. The professor thinks that his one task is writing and developing himself more than his students, and teaching has taken second place.
>
> Research and writing get preferment by college administrations. Inevitably the student has gone by the board. Our colleges are now a cross between the European university and the old American college, and the student has dropped from the central place. America really discovered something in the American college, but by trying to imitate European methods this discovery has been lost, and consequently we are no longer meeting the needs of our own students.
>
> In my judgment the first function of the college is to develop self-control and self-expression in the student. This function is not well done here because we are all mixed up between the university idea and the college idea. For example, a teacher teaches both undergraduates and graduates. It is natural for him to prefer the graduates, who are more mature in their thinking. Then he inveighs against American college life. Very few professors are both great scholars and great teachers. We need to release the scholar more for scholarship and the teacher for teaching. We need both, and must equally emphasize both, but it is difficult to get both in the same man.

An administrator at an independent men's college noted the same difficulty:

> Our greatest problem is to get teachers to give themselves, whole-souled, to teaching. So many teachers are bored with the class work. Many of the Ph.D. men are dried up and warped by research. The problem is to get men who can keep a balance between research and love for teaching.

The secretary of the arts faculty at a state university and a student in a large coeducational university both dwelt upon the monetary rewards that go to research as compared with those given to teaching:

> The chief fault in our methods of instruction lies in the fact that the university is looking for productive men, that is, researchers who will be recognized through the printed page. The research man has not the time to devote to the student and does not like to give time to the student. Up to date, advance in rank and salary has been given not to the teacher but to the printed page producer.
>
> The theory here seems to be that if an instructor goes well with students it counts against him. They assume that he did not research enough. Professor —— is going to another place because teaching is less valued here than research.

Another student remarked:

> Certain groups of the faculty regard students as "hearers only," and therefore seek to get lectures out of the way and then go back to their research. That is, their interests are wholly scholastic.

By contrast there was the following pen portrait from a coeducational university:

> Professor —— teaches English, and in a chat said that one who teaches literature as literature alone is a pathetic spectacle; that he long ago gave up any ambition to be widely known in research or as a writer, and deliberately chose the more obscure, but, as he considers it, the more worth-while and permanent task of teaching literature as a revelation of life. He hopes in this way to help in determining the characters of his pupils, and to guide them into choosing a fine philosophy of life.

An administrative official at a university for men where the preceptorial system was being tried out said:

> Faculty men who are free to have frequent personal relationships with the men are a very important factor in the situation here. What is warring with their freedom is their sense of the importance of research for a faculty man, including questions of salary and rank. Advances come to the research men instead of the teachers. Research is all right for a few men, but it is apt to be emphasized at the expense of inspiring teaching. It really ought to supplement, rather than take the place of, great teaching.

> We ought to get men especially to teach the freshmen, men who will be inspiring human contact teachers. Personnel is the heart of the whole problem. We need more such men as half a dozen I could name.

The teacher-scholar ideal and the difficulty of achieving it were again voiced by the president of a large coeducational university:

> I am as keen as any one in appreciation of the primary importance of the teaching function, but I don't see how to keep the super-teachers also continuously growing so they will be superior in both research and scholarship. Unquestionably that is the ideal we are all after, but the difficulties are enormous. It is very rare to find men who can and will successfully combine ability in both teaching and research. Furthermore, the preceptorial plan and the freshman year plan are both finding that it is also very expensive to secure and hold a staff who combine both gifts.

The proponents of the freshman year plan at Yale were found to be grappling with the problem resolutely:

> In the freshman year we seek to get the very best teaching that is available. We have agreed that a man who specializes on teaching shall not suffer as compared with a research man. We have to watch this carefully, as a teacher must of course keep up his scholarship. It may be necessary for him to take a year off a little oftener. We are also specializing on how to do something comparable for the sophomore year.
>
> The freshman year idea is that college men should have just as fine teachers as the students had in their preparatory schools. We have sought to make it clear to these teachers that they would advance just as quickly for doing fine work as they would for doing research and writing work. Many older men gladly turn to this teaching. We must encourage this, for there is a little feeling among the men that, after all, without producing, they may lose something. We have to discover ways of keeping these men up to high scholarship as well as teaching power. We are now endeavoring to accomplish in the sophomore year what we seem to be accomplishing in the freshman.

EXCESSIVE SIZE OF CLASSES

The excessive size of many of the classes, mechanizing the relations between teacher and student, came up for discussion in a number of the institutions. The general opinion seemed to the inquirers to be that formal lectures and quizzes are inevitable and the free interchange of ideas next to impossible. Witnesses in

the state universities were the most frequent complainants against this evil. The inquirers believe the following remark, made by an upperclassman at a state university, to be typical:

> We don't get into touch with the faculty outside of class, and the classes are so big we very seldom know them personally. Many of the large classes are merely lecture and textbook courses with quizzes to find out what we know.

The same problem, however, also confronts the authorities of private universities, both large and middle-sized.

In several institutions the inquirers found that resolute efforts at improvement were being made. For example, at a state university a professor and a department head spoke as follows:

> There are about a thousand students in agriculture. The lecture-rooms are intended for about 240 students. We crowd chairs in to make 250, so that we have to have four or five lectures on each topic. There are two lecture hours and three quiz hours per week in thirty quiz sections. Fortunately we had staff enough to take care of them. Last semester, this department had fifteen men taking care of these quiz sections. I tried to unify the work through staff meetings.
>
> In rhetoric we undertake to have small classes. There are 2,177 in these small classes, none having more than twenty-nine. One of my biggest jobs is to get a teaching force for these sections. A teacher takes three sections—nine hours of teaching. We try to give no instructor more than one hundred students. Chemistry sections run from 100 to 141.

Another state university has decided to let no class exceed fifty students. Similar steps were being taken in other institutions:

> There has been a very definite movement to cut down the size of classes and to run them more on the discussion or seminar method. (The editor of a student daily.)

> We have 879 boys in freshman year. We give them a large amount of personal attention. They meet in small classes averaging twenty. The teacher knows all the men. (An official at a university for men.)

> It is the policy to keep the classes small and to make the contact between student and teacher easy and close; in the upper classes, the number varies from ten to twenty, but is somewhat larger in the freshman classes. (The registrar of a small woman's college.)

Behind the problem of large classes, in the state universities at least, is the unavoidable admission of large numbers of students,

for there is no academic "immigrant quota law" to stem the tide. The consequent depression of the quality of the student body was sketched in these observations of a prominent professor:

> Undergraduate life suffers from the want of interest in ideas. Students are at sea about ideas. The reason is that when you have 7,500 instead of 1,500 in a university, you have moved out of the area of those intellectually interested and taken in a great crowd of additional people. The 6,000 do not come from any great love of learning. They come for the "bread and butter" courses, for good times and athletics, fraternities and the prom. Business men, who could not go to college when they were young, who have made enough money to pay to maintain a son in the university, like to send them here, but they come without the academic mind and this type comes increasingly. This means an ever harder struggle to maintain standards.

DISREGARD OF PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL METHODS

It might reasonably be assumed that university administrators and faculties would be constantly experimenting as to the best methods of instruction, and there are, in fact, many institutions in which such experimentation is being actively carried on. But so far as the observation of the inquirers goes such usually concerns itself with large policies and plans rather than with the essential matter of classroom procedure.

The dean of a noted school of education brought this charge:

> The worst teaching in this university is in the arts college, and the same is true in many other institutions. The best teaching in the country is found as a rule in the elementary schools, and the higher you go the worse it becomes, until it reaches the acme of badness in the colleges and universities.

A successful teacher of history in a university for men confirmed the charge from his own experience:

> The best teaching I ever had was in the grades, and the next best in a little three-year high school. The next best was in a little western college. After that I would rate the teaching I had in college here. The worst I ever had was in this graduate school. I attribute this to the progressive decline of individual interest on the part of the faculty man in the students.

The authors have no hesitation in stating that, in their opinion, many of the classes and seminars visited violated the elementary principles of effective teaching. Frequently, the goal seemed to

be parrot-like reproduction, not mastery of problems or original thinking. As one student put it:

> There is no challenge to thought in the teaching. The professors consider us jugs for facts. We take notes and get by.

A professor in a large endowed university drew an embarrassing contrast:

> In the secondary school attached to the university, emphasis is placed on the pupil's ability to use tools and facilities, whether intellectual, mechanical or social, to meet actual situations. And the teachers who are given practice training in this school are expected to develop the same sort of ability. They don't deal with texts as texts but as tools. They don't lecture to pupils, they work things out with them. They no longer treat arithmetic and grammar as separate "disciplines" but as keys to unlock problems. I can think of no good reason why men and women preparing to teach in the colleges should not have a corresponding training.

In two of the large universities visited, the departments of education were found to be making earnest efforts at improvement. In one it was done by subjecting the actual teaching in the various departments to criticism and experimentation, although naturally the process was resented and hindered by some of the professors. In the other, various professors from other departments were invited to expound their methods of teaching to the pedagogical seminar, and then the seminar students blandly asked questions and passed criticism, which were said to have set more than one professor to mending his ways.

The authors do not mean to imply that salvation lies only in suggestions from departments of education. Much, indeed, may be gained from them; much through the medium of national educational organizations; and much from the increasing body of books and essays dealing with higher education. But it seems evident that the final answer to the problem lies in the determination of individual departments to make their teaching as scientific as they make their research.

LOW SALARIES AS A CAUSE OF POOR TEACHING

That the salary scale has a vital bearing upon the caliber of a faculty needs no argument. Even though few faculty members may be receiving less than a subsistence wage, some are not get-

ting an efficiency wage, and accordingly, many faculty members in the institutions studied feel compelled to devote to supplemental earnings time that could otherwise be given to improving their scholarship and their teaching, or to serving their students.

Some of the smaller endowed colleges and even a few of the universities are still asking their professors to be satisfied with $3,000 to $3,600 a year. The registrar at one such institution said:

> When A. died recently, the ablest man dropped out. B. died too. He should never have been allowed to overwork. There are twenty-five or thirty-five full professors here, most of them overworked. The faculty has been very clannish, tied up by small salaries and their jobs here without any chance to grow.

A professor in a state university made what the authors believe to be a typical statement:

> I personally have not lived on my salary in the twelve years I have been here. I believe all married instructors have to make extra money on the side. This leaves no time or energy for personal contact with students.

The inroads made on faculties by commercial allurements are not slight. A dean in a large college said:

> The sociology department force constantly fluctuates on account of the tempting salaries offered the men by big business firms.

The effect on the faculties of state universities of niggardly appropriations by the state legislatures was referred to by a senior in a state institution:

> I believe that we do not get the strongest professors here since the salaries are low. The faculty at our neighboring private college, for example, are much more liberal-minded and more scholarly.

The acuteness of the problem is intensified where the costs of living are high. The plight of teachers at a metropolitan university was thus described by a financial officer:

> This puts a terrific strain on men and is a real danger to faculty leadership. The costs of living are too high. Our head professor's salary, $7,000, used to be a great deal of money, but it is not so now for a man who has a family. The university ought to be an assemblage of great teachers and leaders, but they can't be secured or held together without ample funds.

The judgment was thus reënforced by a dean in the same university:

> I don't know of a single associate professor who can live on his salary. They have to do outside work to the limit of their strength.

The president of another city university said:

> Even our head professors are scarcely able to live on their salaries as they should live, without anxiety, or able to maintain their scholarship and play their part in social progress.

MOVEMENTS TO IMPROVE INSTRUCTION

The primary factor in instruction is, of course, the teaching ability of the individual teacher. But that ability will be developed or impeded, will be weakened or reënforced, according as the general instructional system within which it operates is favorable or unfavorable. Among the general movements observed in the institutions visited, designed primarily or largely for the improvement of instructional conditions, were: (1) the separate organization of the freshman year; (2) orientation courses; (3) the preceptorial system; and (4) honors courses.[1]

SEPARATE ORGANIZATION OF THE FRESHMAN YEAR

The freshman year is the subject of earnest experiment at Yale. The plan involves the specialized development of teaching staff, courses, and dormitory life for the entire freshman class in both Yale College and the Sheffield Scientific School.

The opinions of two professors familiar with the system follow:

> In our freshman college we make the conscious effort to go after the very best teaching ability rather than research ability. This is the avowed object of separating the freshman faculty from the other faculties. Teaching in the freshman division is understood as personal influence and all that this implies. The "freshman year" has been successful in raising the general character as well as grades of the men in both the freshman and the sophomore years.

> The freshman system here involves the proctor in the freshman dormitory, the counsellor and the teachers. The proc-

[1] On these last three topics and on some related movements, see E. H. Wilkins, "The Changing College," in the Special Educational Section of the *New Republic* for April 14, 1926; also the several reports of Committee G of the American Association of University Professors, on "Increasing the Intellectual Interests of Undergraduates," published in the *Bulletin* of that Association for 1922 and later years.

tors have a good deal of responsibility for the men who live there, and generally exercise a wholesome influence. We are very self-critical here, but believe we are making progress in solving this difficult freshman problem.

A student interested in outside activities as well as in studies declared that "the isolation of the freshman class is one of the best things at Yale."

An official in another men's university with whom the Yale experiment was being discussed said:

> We are fully appreciative of the fact that our university is giving more attention to the student in the junior and senior years than in the opening years and are eager to correct this fault by massing some of the more effective teachers in the freshman year. We are considering seriously the possibility of deleting entirely the sophomore year and massing the resources of the two years upon the freshman year. This step would make it possible to give far larger personal attention to the individual student. It would also eliminate the evils connected with sophomore year, and enable students, after they have been fully oriented during the freshman year, to begin their major studies under personal direction, as in the present junior year.

On the other hand, certain possible weaknesses of the freshman year plan were pointed out by a well-known university president:

> It spoon-feeds the students too long and too far up. We all should put more stress on careful personal guidance but should avoid too great uniformity for all freshmen and too little responsibility for deciding their own courses of study and use of time.

A prominent alumnus, who retains confidence that the plan will justify itself, confessed that it was proving more difficult than he had expected to secure and retain the requisite high grade of teachers and to keep the classes small, partly because of the expense, partly because of the constant pressure of the lower standards in other departments of the university.[2]

[2] The question is being insistently raised, particularly in the Middle West, as to whether higher education would not gain in respect to instruction and in other respects by a closer grouping of the freshman and sophomore years and a marked separation between them and the junior and senior years; see C. H. Judd, "Reconstructing the Four-Year College," in the Special Educational Section of the *New Republic* for April 14, 1926; and E. H. Wilkins, "The Relation of the Senior College and the Graduate School," in the *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors for February, 1927.

ORIENTATION COURSES

The term "orientation course" really covers two quite different types of courses, which are by no means mutually exclusive.

The older type consists of a series of talks intended to acquaint the freshman with the technique of college life, methods of study, the use of the library, the care of health, etc.

The newer type is a full-time course, interdepartmental in content, and usually coöperative in method, which seeks to survey the fundamental facts regarding the general process of evolution and the present organization of human society. Such courses serve also to give the student initiatory contact with each of the several fields of possible later specialization.

The vogue of courses of this latter type dates from 1919, when Columbia established its "Introduction to Contemporary Civilization" and Dartmouth its course on evolution. Such courses have spread very rapidly indeed. The University of Chicago has a series of three orientation courses into which only the abler students—about 15 per cent. of each entering class—are invited. The first deals with the "Nature of the World and of Man"; the second with "Man in Society"; the third with the "Meaning and Value of the Arts." The University of Minnesota has not only given a very thorough orientation course, but has from the start studied most carefully the effect of the course upon the students taking it. Among the results noted in a current report are these:

> From 90 to 97 per cent. of the students would recommend the course to a brother or sister who might be coming to the university.
>
> From two-thirds to three-fourths of the students indicate that the orientation course has influenced or will influence them in the choice of college subjects. Here is positive evidence of an educational guidance function being performed by the course. It would seem that a frequent objection to survey courses on the ground that such courses are so superficial as to kill the student's desire for deeper knowledge is largely unfounded.
>
> From two-thirds to three-fourths of the students state that their instructors encourage them to think for themselves.

THE PRECEPTORIAL SYSTEM

The preceptorial or tutorial system is the system whereby students receive instruction individually or in small groups either as

a reënforcement of their regular course work or, more typically, in preparation for a general final examination in the major subject. This system, first established in this country at Princeton, has been and is being adopted by many other institutions.

The following exposition of the system was given by a senior student:

> The faculty come into close contact with upperclassmen through the preceptorial system. At the beginning of the junior year each student selects the department in which he will major. In each course he has two lectures a week and a conference with the preceptor to discuss assignments. Theoretically these preceptor groups are limited to from five to eight fellows, but often, owing to lack of instructors, become as large as twelve or fifteen. The preceptor occasionally gives ten-minute written tests. Otherwise there is no marking. The conferences are exceedingly informal. Smoking is permitted. The preceptor and students discuss questions back and forth.
>
> It's the greatest system in the world because it enables students to get into personal contact with men widely known. Students invite professors to clubs and in turn are invited to the homes of the instructors. They sometimes go to movies together, and address each other by their first names. Students learn in these conferences to express their own thoughts, for all are forced to talk. Besides the required courses each senior has an outside reading course in his major. In the history department this outside reading averages about 5,000 pages a year, usually the latest books.
>
> At the end of the junior year there are comprehensive examinations, and a final examination at the end of the senior year covers the work of both junior and senior years. These examinations last three days and cover a large range of questions.

A faculty member said of the system:

> The preceptorial system develops character by developing responsibility. The idea of working in small groups is the key. Preceptors need to be hand-picked men, picked because of their interest in students primarily. It is a matter of finances to hold the right personalities here and to keep the groups small.

This witness put his finger on a difficult point in the system—its cost. Another faculty man found fault not with the system, but with its operation:

> Our preceptorial system at the present is not at top notch. Each man has too many students to do really effective per-

sonal work. The men should come to the preceptor prepared for conference rather than for a recitation or a quiz. In the preceptorial group the faculty man has a great chance to help his men. We believe in the continuation and improvement of the system, and in heightened quality of teaching personnel.

An athletic star found objection to the system from his own point of view:

> The preceptorial system frightens many men out of athletics. It requires that they maintain a third-grade average (fairly good) in their major or in their general stand. It brings the grinds too much into evidence. Many able men are contented with the third group, although they could easily make the first group if they worked. At present, in my opinion, the evils of the preceptorial system outweigh the benefits.

The student quoted below favored the system provided the preceptors were good and the groups small:

> The preceptorial system is very good, with reservations. Young instructors are often limited to their own courses. Older men are much broader and give us a lot more.
>
> The preceptorial system is fine, but there ought to be many more preceptors. It depends largely upon the student how much he gets out of it. They meet once a week. To my thinking the marking by the preceptor detracts somewhat. There are a number of able, friendly men among the preceptors, but some are young Ph.D.'s with no particular qualifications for teaching and friendship.
>
> The preceptorial system is the greatest thing here. The best meetings are at night, sitting around a fire in a professor's room. The personal influence of professors is great. We learn much more in informal talks than in the classroom. We are given freedom and we generally honor the trust.

So far as the inquirers could judge, this rather favorable composite judgment on the preceptorial system is borne out by its effect on the esprit de corps as well as on the mental development of the majority of the students.

HONORS COURSES

The honors course is too well known to need extended notice. It is thus briefly described and evaluated by President Aydelotte, of Swarthmore College, its chief American sponsor:[3]

[3] For a full account, see Frank Aydelotte's "Honors Courses in American Colleges and Universities," published in 1925 as *Bulletin* No. 52 of the National Research Council.

> We believe that the honors courses are effective. The tendency in American education has been to hold back superior men who deserve time for intensive specialization. We have not turned out in America as many of the highest grade men as in English universities. They lack artistic and social culture at its best. Men who are deeply interested in a subject go ahead rapidly when allowed to concentrate on it. The plan here is for the first two years to be spent in basic work and then courses can be taken in science, mathematics, languages, and social science. This differs from the English system in that only the last two years are specialized, and the student is not assigned to an individual tutor, but rather to a seminar.

A professor at an endowed university for men recounted the working of the plan in a larger student body and its rather striking effect on excessive "activities":

> Our honors system has been under way about seven years. It has made slow headway because we do not have funds enough to make it cover all the men who would like to be admitted. For example, we had to limit the honors group in English to twelve men, although there were twenty-four who applied and were qualified.
>
> The men are relieved in the junior and senior years of one-quarter of the classroom work, and are permitted to substitute individual work. It is not graduate study. It is simply a wider and higher development of cultural studies. We do not want the men to get into the professional attitude, nor enter the stage of Ph.D. requirements. They are not excused from all recitations.
>
> The men in the English honors club have become very deeply interested and many of them are going into teaching. The formation of the club, devoted to literary and artistic interests, has been of great benefit. Twenty men interested in literature, art or music are taken from each class. Many such men refuse to get caught in a lot of extra-curricular activities. There are quite a number of men of powerful personality who become influential in undergraduate life because of their character rather than because of participation in activities. There are now a few very prominent seniors who have not taken part in activities, and they are socially recognized. Many freshmen, however, are afraid to defy the Main Street pressure that forces men into activities. Social recognition is bound to come more and more to upperclassmen who live a life of cultural interest.

GENERAL INFLUENCE OF FACULTY ON STUDENTS

Not all faculty influence makes for the upbuilding of character in the students. On the contrary, it is the opinion of the inquirers that the number of teachers who undermine character, though by no means predominant, is yet distressingly large.

For the sake of convenience, representative excerpts from the testimony bearing on the subject are here presented under the two heads, "helpful influences" and "demoralizing influences."

HELPFUL INFLUENCES

A student in a college which "has always laid primary emphasis on character" said:

> The personal influence of many of the professors is immense. I have been greatly impressed as to the degree to which the personality of a professor can react upon the student. Of course, one is not expected to follow the professors, but unconsciously one is much influenced by them. Such men as [naming a half-dozen of the college staff] are all big men, constructive and fruitful in their life. Professor —— is the greatest man on the campus, a man with a heart afire and the keenest of minds. He is greatly beloved.

A student in a medium-size coeducational college thus expressed his debt to the faculty:

> The faculty have been the chief influence in the complete reconstruction of my attitude toward life. I was terribly muddled when I first came and though still unsettled on a philosophy of life, I have been helped much. A teacher in the English department has been of the greatest help. The faculty here is the big thing. We students have very close contact with them. We know them as human beings. They are liberal-minded and willing to coöperate with the students.

The remarkable influence exercised by some professors, even in institutions having great numbers of students and large classes, is illustrated by the statement of an alumnus of a state university:

> Professor ——, especially in his course on man and nature, is the greatest religious influence in the university. I have talked with many students and they nearly all join with me in saying he is one of the greatest teachers we have sat under. His courses really color the whole student body. All of the fraternity fellows, for example, are eager to take his work.

A leading senior in a denominational college paid this tribute to his professors:

> Faculty and courses have been the greatest influence in my life here. I was ignorant and narrow on all matters relating to the labor classes, industrialism and so forth. My courses in economics and sociology have made me a liberal and have given me a serious purpose in life. My philosophy course in life ideals of great thinkers was also a great influence. My greatest college experience has been the broadening of my knowledge and outlook, from the touch with professors of wide experience.

The varied sources of the constructive influence of teachers are suggested in the next few excerpts. It is noteworthy that practically all of them refer to both intellectual and ethical qualities. The attitude exemplified by these teachers reminds one of the intimate and influential relations of some athletic directors and coaches with their students.

The influence of a professor at an endowed coeducational college was attributed to a combination of brilliant abilities with noble character:

> Professor —— is a great-hearted man and a brilliant teacher. He is in wide demand as a speaker but the college is his first love and he gives her his best. Rather, he gives us students his very best, and we can't help revering him. His critical studies have not chilled his affections nor his religious faith. If we were living in the middle ages we would call him Saint —— and name churches after him.

Hospitality and eagerness to help students in their careers were credited to a professor in a metropolitan university and to his wife:

> She and her husband are rarely away from home on Sundays, as the students come in then in large numbers; she has tea for them, and always has on hand an extra supply of cake or cookies. Her husband has been instrumental in starting many of the men on a newspaper career. One year there was in the university a small class in play-writing, and the students came to read their plays, have tea and talk.

Many faculty men and women who would be glad to extend their hospitality to students are prevented from doing so by low salaries. The wife of a popular professor at a metropolitan university said:

> We would be glad to do more for the students were the financial pressure lightened, but the limit of time and strength left over after a double day's work necessarily limits what can be done in this way.

Devotion and generosity were exemplified by this teacher in a medium-size college:

> One professor accepts no salary for his services. Until a year ago he paid all of the assistants in his department and he buys all the books for his department yet. He is a mystic, believing that exposure of students to the Bible often enough and long enough will insure its working its way through their lives, sooner or later. The fact that he accepts no salary and that he is utterly devoted to the institution makes him a power.

A graduate student of science in a state university dwelt on the companionable temper of the faculty:

> Our field work takes students and faculty off on trips together, allowing for close association. The entire faculty is very helpful and friendly. Then a half-dozen of the students, sharing their spirit, unknown to the rest, have banded themselves together to keep the whole group of students clean. They are succeeding to a remarkable degree.

A student in a state university paid a tribute to the contagious idealism of a great teacher:

> Professor —— is a wonderful teacher; everyone holds him in great respect. He has great ideals, which he puts in everything he says, and he surely makes you feel that you want to live these ideals.

An engineering student stressed the ethical power of one of his teachers:

> Character influences here depend upon the particular members of the faculty you come in contact with. We have one man in the engineering faculty whom every student should hear and meet. He is a great inspiration to character. He constantly speaks of the ethics of the engineer and gives numerous examples from his own experience. He illustrates, for example, the relation of the engineer to employers and employees, the necessity of giving an unbiased verdict in any investigation he makes. It is evident that he practices what he preaches and even one-half of what he says will make you a big man morally. He demands and gives a square deal straight through with his students.

The chief thing mentioned by students as impeding the potential good influence of members of the faculty was not lack of character but inaccessibility. One student voiced this lament:

> I had heard much of Professor —— and took one of his courses purposely in order to get the man, a noted scientist with a strong religious faith. But he lectured only, and had assistants handle all the lab work, so that I had no opportunity to know him at all. I keenly regret the lack of personal contact.

Another student in a large university pictured the gulf between teacher and student:

> If one is sufficiently fortunate to get well acquainted with his professor, he gets help. But there isn't enough faculty contact here. Not enough opportunity for common meeting ground. You are constantly conscious that you are a student and the other man an instructor. There is no exchange of ideas, other than those relative to the course. The Christian Association is attempting to change this by having the professors come to fraternity houses and hold discussion groups. This is sometimes a forced contact and looked upon by the fellows as another class. Professors should have the students in their homes.

Though the faculty may often be at fault in this respect, several witnesses blamed the students. A senior woman at a state university said:

> The faculty are always ready to go seven-eighths of the way. Friendships formed with them are the best experiences at the university. The faculty will do anything, will practically tutor you. The difficulty is that students do not go to them enough.

In similar vein a professor at a university that is trying to foster student-faculty coöperation told how "when a group of sixty students were especially invited by the dean to meet their professors, only three turned up."

A professor in a state university referred to the value of "interest groups" in bringing faculty and students together:

> Social contacts between a student and faculty are easy for those who desire them. The great problem is to reach the third of the student body who do not desire to establish such contacts, and cannot be persuaded to do so. Many faculty members belong to faculty-student clubs or groups, such as history, where the contacts have a good deal of meaning.

DEMORALIZING INFLUENCES

An alumnus made this general statement:

> The average instructor's sin is not that he is young, but that he lacks life experience. He can't bring knowledge into relation with the demands of actual life. He seldom has worked out deep convictions and therefore has no moral contribution to give. He is apt to be negative and destructive. The negative men often are outspoken in damming idealism and religion and finer things, while the men of positive faith are reserved and cautious, fearing to be thought unscientific.

A professor in a men's college said of a colleague:

> He has queered a lot of good religion here. Boys thinking of entering the ministry take his courses and get the idea knocked out of them. He damns science, too, and makes scientific colleagues furious. He is a mystic and says science is materialistic. He knocks out both scientific and religious faith and leaves students no props to stand on.

The faculty of a large university which has a religious basis was thus characterized by a professor of philosophy:

> There are some very active supporters of religion, but a considerable group who are quite indifferent or cynical. They are perfectly ignorant of real religion; they have childish, kindergarten notions of it.

The anti-religious bias seemed to the inquirers to be especially marked at certain institutions. At one of these, a men's college, a graduate student, who was active in religious work, said:

> The teaching here in economics and social sciences definitely leads boys to feel that Christianity has little power or influence in the world. Professors "lambaste" religion. They say Christianity is about as effective as pink teas. They dub it the "nursing bottle for weak souls." Of course some things they say are true if Christianity is identified with the narrow churches in which they were brought up. The result is that a very twisted theory of religion is being left with the men.

At several other institutions, including one women's college, professors were charged with heaping scorn on cherished and even progressive religious beliefs, leaving the students to grope their way almost unaided toward a new faith.

In a men's college the department of philosophy was charged by one student with having "entirely upset men's beliefs":

> I was a Christian when I came here. I am now an agnostic. I don't believe in any such thing as personality. All the ex-

planation of things here is by the principle of causes. I still believe in force, but nothing personal, such as a god. Jesus was in advance of his time. I think there is a pendulum swing in different directions but no such thing as progress. I haven't any use for immortality. I got my philosophy, or break-up of doctrine, in R's class. It was entirely deterministic. The fact is, there really is not a philosophy taught here; it is just a conglomeration of doctrines. The fellows pride themselves on thinking. There is some original thinking and a good deal of talking but not much work.

Another witness in an endowed college found fault with the exponents of the newer sciences:

> Many faculty men here are apathetic on the religious side, and there is occasional opposition, not so much, strange to say, from the people in the natural sciences, for professors —— and —— are both distinguished scientists and are not anti-religious; on the contrary they are deeply religious men although not interested in ecclesiastical matters. The apathy and opposition here come from the men in the newer sciences, economics, sociology, and the new psychology.

There are a few teachers in almost every institution who will insist upon digressing from the subject of a course to air their pet aversions on ethical or religious matters. The inquirers could not help finding a certain ironic humor in the fact that one professor who was repeatedly mentioned as a harmful influence in the interviews held at a certain institution was a teacher of ethics.

It may be argued that the testimonies quoted regarding religion serve only to show that some teachers believe in taking strong measures to rid the student mind of irrational, shallow religious and ethical notions in order that sound ideas may grow up in their stead. But though some such process is undoubtedly needed by many students, the authors believe that one may reasonably object to its being performed like an amputation. Teachers may rightly be expected to use educational, not violent methods, whether the subject of discussion be religion, morals or natural science.

THE FACULTY-COUNSELLOR PLAN

The endeavor to bring faculty and students into contact and to make the exertion of faculty influence a right and normal thing finds institutional expression in the faculty-counsellor plan. Some such plan was found in force in nearly all of the colleges and uni-

versities visited. While it centers on the problem of the choice of courses, it may extend, and in most cases is supposed to extend, to paternal and fraternal interest in the student's whole life and work. Unfortunately, the inquirers came to the conclusion that, as operated, it is generally little more than a form, and a duty which the average professor performs perfunctorily. In so far as it has been seriously undertaken, however, it seems to be of decided value. The strong and weak points of the plan can be most effectively shown by quoting statements made at a university for men where the plan had been seriously tried. The first excerpts represent the views of officials and faculty members, which were all favorable, but discriminating.

> The freshman advisory system includes faculty counsellors, the registrar and the proctors. It gets hold of the freshmen immediately upon their arrival. Dr. —— talks to them about health. I talk to them about religion. The dean and his aides know all about the individual boys and check up on them very carefully. If anything goes wrong we call in the fathers. Our job here is to make men. If a boy fails it is our defeat.
>
> Each counsellor is responsible for his own boys, and whenever a question with regard to one of them comes up he is brought in. The counsellor, if he is on the job, has learned confidentially all about the boy's problems, about the financial difficulties at home, or any other personal difficulty. Our counsellors are approachable, human fellows and are also real teachers. The counsellor system is a very larger element in the improvement of conditions. Three or four years ago drinking was very bad. The situation recently has grown better and better. Dances are now well conducted.
>
> The effectiveness of the counsellor system depends largely on the personality of the counsellors. It is a very serious intellectual as well as sympathetic task. Some counsellors fit in well with their counsellees, but some don't. Out of twenty, perhaps six or ten will continue in close friendly relationships throughout college. A teacher and about twelve students was discovered as the right proportion in Palestine a long time ago. It would be well if the student might choose his counsellor, but the work is so important at the beginning of the year that the assignments must be made quickly. Every counsellor has a report from the headmaster or principal of the school from which his counsellees come. These reports are not always accurate, because boys frequently live in too large dormitories in the schools. The English system of smaller houses is better. The counsellor as a teacher may introduce his boys to something which will last long after he is gone,

and he must keep clear in the boy's mind the necessity of solid intellectual attainment.

The system has been applied in some degree to sophomores also:

> The dean has a sophomore committee which is a prolongation of the freshman counselling system. Each counsellor has a group to look after but not so closely as with the freshmen. (Since these remarks were made, a dean for sophomores has been appointed.)

The picture would inevitably be one-sided unless balanced by some student testimony, much of which was rather unfavorable:

> The counsellor system ought to be pushed further. But professors cannot give such big courses as some of them have to give, and keep in personal touch with their students. The system is still largely formal.

> Freshman counsellors are very disappointing, for they do not seem really interested in freshmen. We have no real friendships with most of the faculty. Professor —— is really fine. He makes friends and invites you out to his home. This is very important, for it gets us in touch with children and the home life.

> Counsellors are nearly useless because they give no help on the choice of a life work. There is a lot of indecision about what we are to do when we finish.

The working of the system in other institutions showed certain differences of emphasis.

An official of a state university said:

> Members of the faculty have from twenty to fifty students to advise. They help advisees in arranging their program of studies. If any student comes before the discipline committee, the advisor becomes a member of the discipline committee.

A professor in a small college for men had a poor opinion of the system:

> The advisory system here does not amount to anything. The freshmen are assigned to the faculty, about six or eight to a man. They may consult these advisors about anything, but they really consult them very little. The freshman work is pretty well prescribed and by the sophomore year the advisor system is abandoned. Of course, after the freshman year, the boys consult the dean or the instructors.

One reason why younger faculty members do not eagerly give time to advising with their students may be the indifference of

their superiors, such as a professor of science in a large university described:

> I have had a few conferences with members of the department on departmental problems, like rooms, election of fellows, recommendations for students and so forth. I do not remember any discussion of student problems. No one gave me any instructions at all as to the purpose of the department, as far as students are concerned. There is no machinery here for telling instructors how to teach or how to influence lads in any way. In fact, I don't know whether the institution cares for the inner problems of young folks. No evidence appears that I am to do other than the technique of the course.

Another professor in the same institution declared that the same unconcern as to student character was characteristic also of other departments.

A professor at a medium-size university for men thought highly of the system and made some shrewd observations about it. The selection by the student of his own advisor is notable:

> The freshman advisory system is well established here and intended to bridge the gulf between preparatory school and upper-class life. First, the freshman can select his own advisor if he has any preference, and his choice is final. Second, professors may also choose, if they have personal connection with, or knowledge of, individual freshmen. After these two processes have had a chance for about a week then an arbitrary assignment of those that are left is made. Freshmen may change advisors, however, during the year, which makes for better adjustments. For example, a boy came to one of my classes on the morning after a prom, drunk. I handled him personally rather than report him to the discipline committee, and he asked to have me made his advisor, and I acted in this capacity for some time.
>
> Some freshmen will not use the advisors nor come around to them. The problem involved is that you can't systematize personalities beyond a certain point, but we invite the boys to our homes, tell them our office hours, see them when we can and whenever they desire.
>
> The advisor must sign the elective courses card but can't finally veto the choice of courses made by the student.
>
> The freshman advisory system and the preceptorial system are the institutional expressions of our belief in the significance of personal relations. But there is a large amount of personal friendship over and above this. For instance, Sunday afternoons my wife and I keep open house to students, and they keep in touch with us, for years afterwards in many

cases. The distinction between teacher and pupil is pretty much broken down here and real friendships exist. We frequently play golf together.

No arguments that seemed to the inquirers rational were heard anywhere against a thorough-going counsellor plan. But there was grumbling by professors over its cost in time and money, and by students over its formality and insincerity. Its actual deficiencies do not appear to be inevitable and the authors believe that its potential values are worthy of the highest development.

SUGGESTIONS

TRAINING, SELECTION AND SUPERVISION OF TEACHERS

College teachers are, for the most part, trained in university graduate schools. The graduate school is a vocational school just as truly as the law school or the medical school; yet at the present time the graduate-school training envisages not the whole vocational service in which its students are ultimately to engage, but rather a single important and exciting phase of that service, research—a phase which will in most cases become subordinate in the life work of the man or woman in question. Clearly there is here a maladjustment between means and ends. Surely there is a place in the typical graduate department for the study of the teaching problems which the newly made doctor will face. Some study should be carried on as a rule under the direction of a regular member of the individual department, but in consultation with the department of education. And an effort should be made, either as a part of the same departmental study or otherwise, to give to every graduate student who is intending to teach some conception of the whole enterprise of higher education in its infinite complexity and its profound significance.

It may be confidently asserted that the college president or department head has no more important function than the selection of faculty members, and before appointing any man or woman he should insist upon evidence as to ability in teaching. If college presidents in their dealings with graduate schools would firmly insist on such evidence, the point of view of the graduate schools themselves would be modified in a healthy way. And if the college president believes, as do the authors, that the influence of a faculty member is not merely an affair of the classroom, and that

the type of personal influence exercised is a matter of great importance, then he should, before appointing, secure all possible evidence—largely through interview with the possible appointee—as to what that personal influence is likely to be.

When a young teacher is once taken into a faculty on a first appointment, his work in all its phases might well be carefully watched over by the older members of his department. Absence of such supervision in the corresponding case of young doctors of medicine would now be regarded as little less than criminal. The idea of such supervision is repellent to most faculty men. If it were done sporadically or with the appearance of inquisition, it would inevitably fail. But if it were done through regular and frequent visitation and conference, and if the observations were constantly utilized in friendly constructive advice, it should be of the greatest value to the instructor and should be welcomed by him.

ASSIGNMENT OF COMPETENT TEACHERS TO UNDERCLASSMEN

Given a staff of teachers so trained, selected, and supervised underclass protest against incompetent instruction would be rare. Even so, however, it would be well that freshmen should have the opportunity to come into contact to some extent with the older members of the faculty. This may be achieved by a system in which, in large courses, lectures are given by leading members of the department, while conference and quiz sections are immediately conducted by professors or well-qualified assistants; by cooperative orientation courses; and by the occasional giving of an elementary course entirely by an older man.

Manifestly, it would be still better if conferences with individual students could be held in part, at least, by the abler professors. That this has proved practicable and rewarding at Princeton is asserted in the latest report of the dean of the faculty, in the section dealing with the "new plan of study." While the plan has been notably successful with upperclassmen, it has also brought good results with underclassmen. The observations of the report on the sacrifice demanded of the professors are worthy of particular note.

> On all hands the charge is made that the college is a failure. Is this the case in Princeton? The answer is to be found in the response which the present Freshman Class has made to the opportunity to be enrolled in sections calling for more advanced study and the reports upon the showing they have

made; in the statements by undergraduates in charge of non-athletic undergraduate activities that not only has the number of candidates been greatly reduced, but also the quality of the men, because the abler students see in the curriculum a better field for the development of their powers; in the showing made by the Sophomores in the revised program of studies open to them; and in the testimony of students and Faculty alike concerning the results of the Upperclass Plan of Study.

The present plan of study calls for a kind of teaching different from that involved when instruction is given only by lectures and recitations. The conference with a student on his individual study cannot be made a routine matter. Its value depends upon the interest of the student in his subject and the readiness of the supervisor to give him the benefit of his knowledge and experience, without regard to the time involved. This means that the time which many a professor had planned to devote to his own studies is considerably diminished. The men whom we think of today as giving intellectual distinction to the Faculty are giving their energies freely to this work, because they believe in its value and importance.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH

If it is made a matter of stated policy that success in teaching should be in itself a consideration in questions of advancement, etc., and if the administration does in fact accord increases in salary and rank, leaves of absence, occasional lightening of the teaching load, and appointment to positions of semi-administrative trust to men whose ability lies wholly or primarily in the teaching field, then the undue subordination of teaching to research should come to an end. Such a policy, however, should never serve to justify the advancement of a man who is intellectually stagnant. Men who have the aptitude for research should be encouraged to utilize their very research as a method of teaching, through the enlistment of students as collaborators in it.

SIZE OF CLASSES

If a class is entirely under the charge of a single instructor it should not exceed twenty-five students, save in highly exceptional cases (which would be likely to occur rather in the upper than in the lower classes). Such limitation is necessary because a class without free response and individual participation by its members is out of date. In the case of large underclass courses in which any profit may be gained from occasional instruction without immediate response, the best plan would seem to be that already sug-

gested: the giving of such instruction once or twice a week by a highly competent member of the regular staff, the other days being devoted to work in small groups directed by trained assistants.

INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS AND SYSTEMS

The modernization of teaching methods, if it does not come by individual initiative, may to some extent be induced by administrative suggestion or pressure. The sign and token of modernity in method is concern for the individual student; and progressive teachers using records and methods of the sort suggested by the term "personnel work" are more and more approaching a scientific discrimination between the different problems of those whom they teach. Logical development of interest in the individual student obviously bars the straight lecture method. No less truly does it bar the straight recitation method. Both lecture and recitation have their place, but the modern emphasis is on an individual assignment of work which will demand individual thought and response. Such assignments may well be given at times to a small group rather than to a single person.

Current literature dealing with methods of instruction should be actively read and utilized by faculty members. By a well-planned distribution of responsibility—one man taking one periodical, one another, one this book, one that—together with the plan of gathering for the exchange of suggestions thus acquired, the field may be covered without undue demands on each person.

The general movements tending to improve instruction discussed above—the separate organization of the freshman year, orientation courses, the preceptorial system, and honors courses—are meeting with such general approval that it is clearly wise for every institution to study at least the question of their introduction. All these plans bring with them the problem of cost, especially the preceptorial system. The cost can be met completely or largely in the case of orientation or honors courses, and more largely than might at first be thought in other cases, by a resolute cutting of the number of regular courses required or by reducing the number of hours of instruction offered in each course. Most institutions now offer a needlessly large variety of courses.

SALARIES

Faculty morale must be maintained if teaching is to be good, and faculty morale cannot be maintained on low salaries. Pres-

sure of financial worry impairs efficiency and tends to embitter. And the sight of faculty men and their families living in the shadow of financial need is hardly calculated to create in the student a deep respect for the life of the mind or the life of service.

The greatest hope in this field appears to lie in a general raising of tuition, accompanied, of course, by a correspondingly increased provision of loans and scholarships. The first financial care of every president and the main factor in every general campaign for funds should certainly be a provision for the endowment of salaries. Some relief may also be had from the concentration of such funds as are available upon a lesser number of men, through the omission of unnecessary courses.

FACULTY-STUDENT RELATIONS

It has been made sufficiently clear that the faculty-counsellor system deserves hearty administrative support through adequate financial backing and through recognition of individual success in the work. Joint faculty-student committees may be entrusted with a variety of problems. The work of such committees is apt to be valuable because of the presentation of varying viewpoints, and still more valuable as a demonstration that older and younger members of the community can work together, and in so doing not only find solutions to common problems but form enduring personal friendships.

Chapter X

THE ADMINISTRATION

The executive departments of all colleges and universities are molded on similar lines. But the actual working of different administrations varies widely. Some conceive of their work merely as a business, others conceive of it as an art. This chapter, in the first part, will present essentially a comparison of administrations based on these two conceptions, and in the second part, will gather together and reënforce the points made in preceding chapters regarding the specific functions of the administration in unifying and strengthening the whole educational process.

FUNCTIONS AND INFLUENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION

THE PRESIDENT

Several of the presidents interviewed frankly told the inquirers that they were distressed because money-raising and social functions crowded out intimate contacts with faculty and students. They had dreamed of being educators and in reality were becoming men of all work not only to the institution but to a hundred public causes. In extreme cases, so it seemed to the inquirers, the president may be described as a commander-in-chief in name, but something more like a kitchen corporal in fact. He is supposed to shape educational policies, whereas his chief duty turns out to be raising funds to fill the insatiable maw of building committees. He dreamed of being counsellor to hundreds of students in each college generation, but he counts himself fortunate if he knows even by sight all the seniors and half the juniors. He is better acquainted with the conductors and porters of the trains that carry him on a ceaseless round of campaigns and committee meetings and functions.

Fortunately, however, there is another side to the picture, showing presidents who are educators and statesmen as well as financiers and publicists.

A professor in a large university thus described his own president:

He combines a grasp of large projects and principles with capacity for detail. The pressure to raise funds has been tremendous and he has done it well, but he has never allowed it to crowd his concern for personnel to a secondary place. His interest in the students is so unaffectedly genuine as to impress every one. He believes that free and equal conference and coöperation between faculty and students is one of the largest untapped reservoirs of education, and he has himself given much time to getting it started. His catholic sympathies, a clear and scientific mind, an unaffected religious faith and a noble humility make him a great force among the students and faculty alike.

A friend of another president told of this characteristic incident:

The president was bowed down by budgetary and other vexing problems, and his secretary was fighting off callers. But a religious worker in the university, with fear and trembling, pressed for a moment's interview, and told the president that there was to be a conference that evening of twenty-five leading juniors to consider the forces that were making and breaking student character in the university. He studied his overcrowded schedule, hesitated and then finally said, "I'll go," and he stayed through. During the discussion he entered sympathetically into their problems and told them of the difficulty he was having in trying to control a smutty college paper.

A veteran professor at a large women's college analyzed three of its presidents:

Under the first president the ideal of the college was "an intelligent gentlewoman," with the emphasis on the *intelligent,* it being rather more taken for granted then that those who came to college were well-bred. The motto of the college is, "Add to your virtue knowledge," and this expressed the ideal very well. The theory of a basis of virtue and religion, with a fine finish put on it, dominated a long time. It is perhaps true of late that the intellectual and spiritual have suffered somewhat. In the early period there was a definite effort, whose effect is yet seen, to make neither the religion nor the scholarship of the college a conscious thing. It was once said the college "had no religion to brag of," and that was exactly as the president desired—the religion not to be "bragged of," just as he wished the education should not be "worn on the shoulder as a chip to be hurled at one." This was good in a time when scholarship and religion in women's colleges had both been so emphasized that they were too much thought of, but the tradition persists after the need for it has gone. The first two presidents were ministers of the gospel, and some-

times emphasized character at the expense of scholarship. The second president, when at the college, exercised strong moral and religious influences, and the college, always a residential one, needed him. As the college grew, and the need for money also grew, the second president was away much of the time, getting funds. He had a fine personal background, and his chapel and vesper talks were always understood by the girls. But in his absences there was a slight slipping and the girls became a little "too all-around." The faculty insisted that his successor be chosen to put a new emphasis on scholarship. The present president is a scholar, with the modern attitudes, but a good grip on religious fundamentals. He agreed to come with the understanding that he need not try to raise money; would not live in the president's house, as it was too much on the campus; and would not lead chapel. This was because he was not a minister. But when he saw what chapel meant, that it is the very life and soul of the college life, he would not forego it, and has been quite captured by it. He has some rare gifts, one of them being the ability to "stop when he has finished." He said when he came he had spent his life with books and was now to turn to persons.

The former president of a small men's college was thus rated by one of the professors:

> He gave a remarkable example of what influence an administration can exert on a student body. He was vitally interested in education, in developing the boys rather than in administering an organization.

The president of a medium-size men's college was repeatedly commended for his accessibility to students, and his willingness to treat them like partners in solving college problems. A senior, prominent in athletics, said of him:

> The president, treasurer, registrar, and two assistants to the president, went with a group of us to a mountain cabin and talked until two-thirty in the morning. Such activity on the part of the administrative officers makes students feel that they are always on their side. Again, they are fair. They oppose liquor but never demand of us that we keep away from it. Furthermore, they allow any kind of speaker on the platform.

The same president received this tribute from a faculty member:

> The president brings out the individual abilities in his faculty men, instead of trying to make them all after the same pattern as his predecessors did. In this way he keeps faculty men happy and administers, not for the sake of administration, but for the sake of education.

A professor in a small women's college spoke of her president as "a very stimulating and inspiring man, a fine administrator, much interested in the moral and religious life of the students."

There were other presidents that were spoken of in no such appreciative terms, the testimony varying from mild and somewhat perfunctory respect to positive depreciation. Here are a few of the comments made by students:

> He's so busy raising money and making speeches we hardly know he belongs to us.
>
> He has to be all things to all men, but mostly off the campus, keeping the politicians friendly to the university so the state appropriations won't be cut. He's a good speaker but he stopped thinking quite a while ago.
>
> He's an able man and means well, but he isn't accessible to us students and doesn't know what's going on among us.
>
> We never think of him as an educational authority.

It is quite likely, however, that some of the presidents referred to might echo the criticisms of their own students, for, as already stated, the inquirers were impressed by the number of presidents who deplored as much as any critic the fact that the secondary tasks had usurped the primary place.

Presidential functions are naturally determined by the size and nature of the institution. In a small college the president holds, in effect, several of the cabinet portfolios, but in a large college or university he is merely premier. One of the marks of an able president is naturally his skill in delegating secondary functions so as to leave himself free to do the things of primary importance. As institutions grow, presidential functions are normally subdivided and delegated to various associates, roughly as follows: dean and assistant dean, to look after discipline and student activities; registrar, to keep the records; controller, business manager and superintendent, to handle property and financial matters; alumni secretary, to maintain relations with graduates for the promotion of enrolment, esprit de corps and contributions; heads of departments, to cover educational problems and staff adjustments; faculty senate and committees, to deal with problems of curriculum, discipline and inter-academic relations; secretary or assistant to the president, to be hands and ears for him. In certain of the larger universities a provost or vice-president has been appointed to relieve the president. In one university two vice-presidents

have been appointed, one for educational, the other for financial administration.

In many of the institutions studied it seemed to the inquirers that the delegation of functions had not been carried sufficiently far to give the president time to exert a decisive influence on the human relations and on the intellectual life of the institution. It is, however, a fair question whether nowadays the president of a large or rapidly expanding institution can be expected to exercise intellectual leadership as well as carry exacting financial and managerial duties. One president probably expressed the views of a good many when he lamented that "since I left my professorial chair I have been living a hand-to-mouth intellectual life, hoping vainly for the time when I could study in peace once more and write some of the books I had long been planning." Such men are not so much the makers of the system as its martyrs. The pressure upon them from the alumni and the public to enlarge the enrolment, to expand the equipment, to raise ever more money is well-nigh irresistible. There is rarely an equally insistent demand for lifting the standards of teaching and scholarship. Size rather than quality, winning teams rather than honor students draw the applause of the multitude.

The dean of a scientific school in one of the state universities lamented "a tendency in all our large institutions to be overzealous for efficiency and wealth production, after the fashion of our industries." All honor is due the presidents who are refusing to surrender to this tendency. They deserve heartier support by boards of trustees and alumni associations.

TRUSTEES AND REGENTS

The inquirers found no inclination on the part of the presidents themselves to make other persons scapegoats for the difficulties under which they labored. But there were other witnesses who laid a portion of the blame on boards of regents or trustees.

One witness said of a state university:

> The university has grown disunified, lacking any central cohesive power. The president cannot control the situation because so much power is in the regents' hands.

Another witness declared:

> The Governor has just appointed two shyster members to the Board of Regents. There has been little oratory in the

board for several years, but at the first meeting after his appointment one of these new men orated for two hours against allowing Rhodes scholars to go from this university. He tried to show that it was a scheme to get our brightest youths to England.

One of the sharpest criticisms of trustees came from a woman regarding a denominational institution:

> Recently a group of "chaps," ambitious but not intellectual, have become members of the Board of Trustees. They have instituted an increase of the athletic program of the university, and have little sympathy for scholarship. They are spending money on a stadium when it should be given to more legitimate needs. There is not a woman on the board of trustees, although this is a coeducational college. The alumnæ association has been asked to act as an advisory board to the trustees. A suggestion has been sent to the trustees that at least five women be members of their board.

A senior woman student in a small state institution threw the blame not on the regents but on the legislature, pointing out the demoralizing diversion of faculty energy to log-rolling:

> Our college administration is much hampered because we are really administered from the state house and the trustees can do little on their own initiative. We come under the division of the commissioner of education and the only way we can get anything is by political pull. Consequently the faculty man who can get money out of the legislature is thought wonderful. The alumni, and even some of the students, are biased toward the man who can get money.

At this institution several faculty members seemed to be in fear of decapitation because of political interference.

The deadening influence exerted by some boards of trustees over administrative officers was suggested by a prominent upperclass man in an endowed university:

> The trustees hold the purse strings and the president has to be careful not to offend them, so he is often neutral on big issues.

At another endowed institution a leading senior thus characterized the situation:

> The president is not a great executive or educational leader. He is too closely related to the "interests." There are only two educators on the Board of Trustees. The administrative committee are all reactionary. Several professors were forced out because they were progressive.

Important as may be the improvement of boards of trustees and the devolution of functions from an overloaded president's shoulders, the remedy may need to go deeper. As one administrator observed, "What we need is new convictions, not new devices." In creating the right convictions and in securing competent personnel, the ultimate responsibility may rest with the trustees, but the initiative must generally be taken by the president.

DEANS OF MEN AND OF WOMEN

In small institutions the dean generally combines the functions of registrar, disciplinarian and counsellor, but in the larger institutions he is relieved of the first function and enabled to concentrate on the last two. An increasing number of coeducational institutions are appointing deans of women as well as of men.

The inquirers found among students the most diverse opinions regarding the quality of the influence exercised by their deans. The highest kind of student tribute to a dean or other administrative officer would be that, even though he knew so much about the seamy side of student life he still kept large-hearted, tolerant and human. The sharpest student criticisms might affirm that the dean was a policeman, a spy, a mere keeper of marks and cuts, without a sense of humor or the milk of human kindness. As a matter of fact the authors feel that so long as the system of marks and penalties remains basic, it will require almost superhuman deans to make the pastoral attitude prevail over the disciplinary.

The deanship at its best was described by a dean of men in a coeducational denominational university:

> I look upon myself as a moral engineer. I have to deal with moral, physical and mental derelicts. We must deal with the individual and have to be careful in the diagnosis. Our aim is to reconstruct the man and therefore we have to study the causes carefully. Frequently we send the man to the psychology department for examination and often to the physical education department for physical diagnosis. These departments coöperate splendidly. A fellow in bad shape physically seemed all right but fell down in class work. Family were much disturbed and he worried. Physical investigation found fallen arches, psychology department found eyes bad. We fixed up arches and eyes and now he is the happiest boy ever; making Phi Beta Kappa.

A student in a state university spoke enthusiastically of the deans of men and women:

> The dean of men can call nearly every man in the university by name, particularly the fraternity men. He can tell you what everyone is doing. He is at his office from eight to five and from eight-thirty he is interviewing students, landlords, etc. He calls men and advises them, when he knows they are up against it, gives financial help to worthy students and advises organizations.
>
> Supervision by the deans of men and women is very careful and is not obnoxious to the students. They are very fair, very just, and have the moral support of the students. They have the situation well in hand. There is less drinking here than at any other school I know of. The watch over student life is admirable.

The bewildering variety of tasks falling to a dean in a large university was picturesquely described by a dean of men:

> I am concerned with the students' personal, moral and social problems. I don't advise on paleontology or sewing. I don't advise dropping or taking a course, but leave that to department heads. I do tell them that going to movies won't help scholarship and that dancing seven nights a week won't get a top grade. We wait on all sick, see all operations, watch over moral conditions. I will see the sheriff next to curb bootlegging in town. We try to eliminate gambling and immoral women, mostly by eliminating sources. In most of these activities I do not appear. I have never cared for advertising in the public press. If the sheriff gets it, I cheer.

The advantage of teaching some regular course as a means of winning respect and influence was felt by several deans, especially deans of women, some of whom said that they owed not a little of their influence to this fact. One of them, in a large coeducational university, taught English and found that "the books read give me excellent opportunities to show how beautiful the relations of men and women may be. I face such issues unflinchingly and the students make a sensible response." A dean in a state university who taught art held that the teaching of it enabled her to make close contacts with the girls and to win their respect for her as a person, not as an officer. One of the deans of men in a denominational college served as football and basketball coach so as to keep closer to the students. He also directed an orientation course for freshmen and strongly supported the voluntary chapel.

Among the criticisms of individual deans confided to the inquirers were the following:

> A dean of men in a men's college was described by a pro-

fessor as "an easy-going man who believes in ruling by rules . . . perfectly amiable but doesn't understand education or know the life of the boys."

The president of the senior class at a coeducational university, who was also on the committees for the honor system and student government, said:

> The only time a freshman sees a dean is on pure routine—flunking, or bad marks. I don't see that the officials have any plan for developing character. Perhaps this is being changed under the new administration.

A senior in another coeducational institution declared:

> The dean of men is effeminate; good as registrar but not as a dean. He lacks advisory skill. The dean of women is domineering, and has no social relationships with the girls, but is critical of both boys and girls.

A prominent student in a small college told why the dean was disliked:

> The fellows feel he conducts the college like a prep school and that he has a whole system of spies. They call his spies "wiggly worms." He does not mingle much with the men. I don't believe he shows favoritism, but he is very set in his opinions.

A leading student in a large university indicated his belief that the dean was not a free agent:

> The deans operate, for the most part, in the handling of the courses, and academic matters. I have never gone to a dean for a heart-to-heart talk. As a matter of fact there are few here to whom one could go. This, perhaps, is not the fault of the deans. When a dean becomes too human and does not do the formal stuff, he seems to be relegated back to the faculty.

If the deans in institutions both small and large are to measure up to their possibilities as guides and friends of students, it seems evident that they, like the president, must be relieved of some of the routine duties ordinarily required of them. In the larger institutions such relief is imperative simply from physical limitations. At one large university, which already has four deans and assistant deans, the dean of men declared that he needed more assistant deans "so that we can get down to constructive consultation with the students." He added that the duties of the deans were sharply differentiated, two men dealing only with curriculum

cases, and one only with extra-curriculum cases. "We don't want the academic and the outside activities mixed here," he said—which the authors frankly regard as rank heresy.

The testimony regarding deans of women stressed their gift for friendship, for being "one of the girls." Artistic pictures and homelike touches in one dean's office exercised a mellowing and magnetic influence over the girls in a small women's college. A visitor thus described the office and the dean:

> The function of the dean is largely social, but includes some discipline, which is, however, handled largely by the students, always with her friendly counsel and advice. Her office is as unlike that of the dean at the state university as can be imagined. The walls are covered with pictures deliberately chosen to give the girls some appreciation of art. The room is furnished with her own personal things and given a home atmosphere. A rack on the broad window-sill always contains the newest books. A half-dozen girls in the room when we went to say good night were chattering as if she were a big sister, or looking over the books in the big case. All the colored postcards she brought from her trip abroad are filed in a special case by country and are always available for the girls. Such methods of course are far easier to follow in a small college than they would be in a large one. In the dining-room, where we were entertained as guests, ostensibly by one of the students, the dean aided and directed the student hostess in a very lovely and quiet way, and thus gave her some training in social ease and graciousness that was well worth while.
>
> Academically, she has little responsibility. She thinks of education as meaning the cultivation and creation of appetites, ideas and attitudes; socially, she must stand for the very highest; she must be ready to assume the gravest responsibilities. As her ancestors in this region were pioneers and wrested from the wilderness the fine conditions under which the women here live today, so they must be pioneers in the sphere of the moral and the spiritual. It is to this end in part that she asks questions concerning the use of leisure time and the vocational ideal, as she holds the way the girls use leisure has a very important part in their character building, and that the day of entrance to college is none too soon for them to begin thinking of how they are going to use their lives.

A successful dean of women in a large coeducational university defined her functions in less personal but broadly educational terms:

> The function of a dean is not a matter of mere enforcement

of law, of seeing the conventions are observed, or chaperonage is maintained. Though these are not to be neglected, they are but means to an end, and unless a bigger and broader principle is found they will prove but ineffective means. The great work of a dean should be to create in the group and in the individual a lively sense of *responsibility;* there must be given every possible chance for *self-direction* and *choice.* Advice, guidance and suggestion should be freely available, but are of greatest value only when they aid the student to shoulder his own responsibility in directing his individual course and in moulding public opinion.

The dean's function is not to "mother" students but rather to keep in close touch with university life so as to know what a woman needs to have and to know in order to take her place in the new world order efficiently and well. The dean must see that the university provides, and that women make use of, opportunities for complete development and equipment for life. This ought to include opportunities for social as well as intellectual development.

A class dean at a college for women made these comments:

The duty of the class dean is to O. K. all courses elected by the students and to administer the faculty rules; in actuality, she does this and makes a point of knowing all her classes, even better than does the dean; she acts as a go-between of students and faculty, and is intimately acquainted with the problems of all the girls by the time they are seniors. Officially, the academic side of the life is her special province, and she might have to do with disciplinary cases, especially if they involved her own group; unofficially, she looks after the general welfare of her class, acting as dean to that class for four years. All the class deans are chosen on a personality basis.

All of the class deans teach, and this makes their work as deans more valuable, since they get the academic side of the girl's life. The greatest problem is in selecting the right way to help "the groping student to find herself"; in keeping oneself open enough to reach the student, and not to be thought "an old fogy."

Hall-mistresses and managers were more than once referred to as valuable aids to the deans. One of them in a state university said:

It is the president's idea that the hall-mistress should not be a mere chaperone, but an efficient member of the faculty, with faculty prestige, and in touch with the academic life. Also that the house-manager should be a fine capable woman of

education, a trained dietitian; such a person as we have at present, who is much liked by the girls.

In another state university the dean of women passed upon all the fraternity house-mothers and keepers of rooming-houses.

RELATIONS AMONG DEPARTMENTS AND FACULTY MEMBERS

Even though a faculty may be composed almost exclusively of good teachers and friendly counsellors, it is quite possible for the general temper of the institution to be soured by reason of jealousy and friction between departments or between individual faculty and administrative members. Such unsavory situations were encountered by the inquirers in some of the institutions visited.

The most noticeable instances of friction that came to the attention of the inquirers were in denominational colleges, where, as in a small town, animosities fester and become chronic. As a junior student in one of them cynically observed, "The faculty talk for better coöperation between students and faculty but take digs at one another all the time."

Another upperclassman at the same college said:

> There is a lack of coöperation between the students and the faculty here and conflict between the engineering faculty and others. The pre medic profs are wonderful. They coöperate with their students. Some arts profs are not just to their students. The older men on the faculty, and they are the best ones, disagree with the younger. The younger men are inexperienced and sometimes make bad mistakes, but won't own up. The older men are willing to appear ignorant on a question if they are so.

Occasionally a dispute over general policy or over such a matter as compulsory chapel or student self-government may create friction for a season. One such case was thus analyzed by a leading student in an endowed college:

> The friction between the trustees, faculty and former president has really upset the college very much, especially the senior class. The president got many factions against him. Trustees and faculty noted that the freshman class was not big like other colleges and they held the president responsible for this. Then he put a few of the older faculty members out.

On the other hand, there was the following reassuring statement by a professor in a college for men:

> The institution is characterized by the magnificent teamwork of presidents, trustees, faculty and alumni. I have never

> known such loyalty and team-work. Furthermore, it is loyalty with a purpose and plan. The alumni, for example, pledge themselves to give to the college, not only in money, but in organized support of the whole institution.

The conclusion reached by the inquirers was that the underlying reason for most cases of departmental friction was that each department was looking out only for its own peculiar interests. One professor went so far as to question the basic division into departments:

> Department heads are knifing one another right along. They are trying to pull all the bedclothes over their side. The whole idea of departmentalizing undergraduate education is almost as bad as the outgrown "faculty psychology."

FREEDOM OF TEACHING AND OPINION

The very term "university" carries with it the implication of hospitality to truth from every source, and hence freedom of thought and speech. In Germany the debates of the limits of this freedom gave rise to the word "Lehrfreiheit," or freedom of teaching, which for faculty members is the heart of the matter. That both students and teachers have had their freedom curbed by the administrations of a goodly number of institutions in the United States is a matter of common knowledge. Within recent years student societies in both eastern and western universities have been forbidden to invite certain speakers reputed to be "radical," and professors of unconventional views have been curbed or invited to resign. Nor have such measures been confined to any one type of institution.

Practically every administrative officer professes to believe in a large measure of academic freedom, but some of them have been constrained by pressure, or by fear of public criticism which would imperil state appropriations and private donations, to taboo speakers and teachers hostile to the present social and economic system. Although teachers in several institutions testified to the enjoyment of academic freedom, the inquirers found faculty members in two state universities and one endowed college who were in dread of losing their positions, if they dared to voice their convictions on current social problems. In certain of the institutions still connected with religious denominations, a conservative pressure seems to be exerted partly by the religious and partly by the economic interests among the trustees and alumni. Such re-

pression, however, did not appear to be acute at most of the institutions studied. The inquirers heard very few complaints of repression, whereas there was a good deal of testimony by teachers and administrators to the full freedom enjoyed. The students in two of the large universities were incensed at the control exercised by the administration over the undergraduate press. They maintained that if the students were to count at all in shaping policy then full liberty of expression must be allowed, so long as it was serious and honest. Furthermore, they held that it was better for the undergraduate temper and better for the institution as a whole to give criticism an outlet than to force it to find vent at "bull sessions" in the dormitories and clubhouses. Some illustrative testimonies are selected for quotation.

A professor in a women's college with strong denominational connections told how the chairman of the board of trustees demanded the dismissal of a professor who was teaching evolution in a biblical course, though he did not object to its being taught in a science course. The president refused and the disgusted chairman resigned. The professor quoted a lively student as saying:

> This is an X college with the Bible taught by a higher critic. I don't believe there is a girl here, except some freshmen, who doesn't accept evolution.

A student bore testimony to the open-mindedness of his institution:

> A —— man may be described as in "unconditional readiness to reconsider everything at any time." "It has been said" has no place on this campus. What IS said is the all-important matter.

An honor student at an eastern men's college declared:

> The chief thing here is the atmosphere of freedom and liberalism. The president is absolutely open-minded and critical in every field. I have had no opposition whatever in asking radical men here to speak. The college has a fund to pay for speakers recommended by different groups. My group, the liberal club, has had some of the most radical men in America. The president was much opposed by many alumni and others, but he stands his ground for freedom of speech and says that any one can have a platform here. This is characteristic of the college and no student feels coerced here.

A well-known professor at the same college confirmed this statement:

> Academic freedom is not only a tradition here but it has been institutionalized. It was voiced by the founder and by a series of great presidents.
>
> One man was tried for heresy and in a few weeks was elected to the presidency here. The present president is just as sincerely furthering academic freedom. This is true not only of the president and the faculty but of the trustees and alumni. Academic freedom is never debated, so I never think at all as to the result of what I am saying in the classroom. This puts the college in a class by itself.

A state university dean said: "There is real freedom of thought and speech in the faculty here in spite of the assertions of a well-known newspaper." This allusion to the daily press would be echoed at other universities that have suffered from distorted reports of professorial utterances.

An agnostic professor of science in a large women's college declared that "it is a most liberal college and entire academic freedom is allowed professors."

An uncompromising espousal of academic freedom was contained in a chapel talk given by the president of an eastern college for women. As recorded by the inquirer he said in substance:

> I have long been lying in wait for the chance to state the point of view of the administration on all thought expressed by speakers who come to us, or on the part of the faculty. The administration does not sponsor any of the thought expressed; its duty is to see that those who have made a contribution to the thought of the time and who are competent are given a chance to address you. The aim of the college is to present within these limitations the greatest possible variety, and no student should be shocked by anything she hears here, nor should she permit her parents to be shocked by it. Take no statement of opinion without questioning, no statement of fact without investigating. It is probably all wrong! At any rate, fifty years will doubtless prove 50 per cent. of it to be wrong. Your minds are supposed to be in a state of flux that will not sustain a shock; your duty is to think, to find the truth for yourself, to educate yourselves, and to educate your parents. Those who suppose college is a place to acquire a mass of facts and predigested conclusions do not belong here. The function of the college is to investigate the truth, to think straight. For this reason, all varieties of thought are represented, and all varieties of teaching are given, both by faculty and by visiting speakers.

That seems to the authors to be an admirable statement of the ideal held by most of the professors and administrators encountered in this study. It serves to throw into relief the occasional contrast between the ideal and the actual, and the presumable loss to the character-building of the student wherever the ideal is dishonored.

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT

Two administrative functions calling for discussion here are the selective admission of students and the provision of personnel service for those who have gained admission, which was covered in Chapter IX only so far as contact and counsel by the faculty are concerned.

SELECTIVE ADMISSION

In view of the pressure for entrance to all higher institutions of good standing, some sort of selection must be exercised. Three main methods have been in general use, namely, examinations, certification from accredited schools, and psychological tests.

The state universities have depended almost entirely on certificates of fitness issued by accredited schools, chiefly public high schools. That this is not entirely satisfactory is indicated by the fact that the Zook Commission report on schools in Kansas recommends "that the state law requiring admission to the freshman class of all graduates from accredited high schools in Kansas be repealed."

Prof. R. H. Jordan, of Cornell University, kindly supplied the following description of the somewhat different practice of certain eastern colleges:

> In eastern universities such as Cornell, Dartmouth and others, the practice of admission by certificate takes a different form from that employed in connection with the state universities. In these eastern institutions the admission by certificate is limited to a list of accredited schools and the certificate privilege is not considered as open to all graduates of these institutions, but the principal or headmaster of the school is expected to present the certificate only for those students whom he believes fully qualified to carry work with credit under the peculiar conditions existing on the campus in question. Where the principal does not exercise this discretion his school is deprived of the certificate privilege without reference to its general standing and its success in preparing students for other institutions.

Massachusetts Agricultural College supplements certification by the regular visitation of high schools, and in the spring on "high-school day" some five hundred seniors visit the college and are shown around.

Grinnell has required an 85 per cent. average standing in high school for entrance, and the character of students is investigated in advance. The best agents for the college are said to be Grinnell students home on vacations, for they "literally catch the best high-school boys and girls for the college. They look for character, scholarship and athletic ability."

A high official at an eastern men's university said:

> In admitting freshmen we take something besides scholarship into consideration. That is, we have a character record. Twenty to 25 per cent. of the boys here are from high schools. The average high-school boy stands much better than the average prep-school boy after he enters the university, for he has been on his own. Private-school boys have been too closely regulated, have had no responsibilities. There are too many bells ringing at private schools. In high school more personal initiative is developed. Furthermore, only picked high-school boys usually go to college. It is significant that working students almost invariably do the best work.

A senior student at another university for men thus expressed his opinion:

> The system of admission is excellent. The man who has charge of it is doing his job. When a man has the real stuff in him he is sometimes admitted even though he may have flunked in one or two courses. Scholarship and football ability are not the chief things. Personality and character are far more important.

A group of authorities at Swarthmore in conference agreed that the selective admission of one-fourth, or of a smaller proportion, of the applicants yielded a very satisfactory student body. In addition to undergoing an examination, each applicant is personally interviewed alone by the dean of men or of women. Character and high scholarship are the chief criteria.

The selective devices used as supplements to or as substitutes for certification consist chiefly of general psychological tests and of personality or character ratings.

The requirement of good moral character for admission has been characteristic especially of institutions of a religious origin. A report upon *Personality Requirements in Colleges of the United*

States, by Human Research Corporation[1] showed that sixty-nine of the one hundred colleges examined stress in their catalogues the importance of a good moral character. But the definition of good character has been left vague and few colleges have specified who must write the "character reference." The precarious nature of testimonials was derided by a dean in a state university who said that "any one can get testimonials, even if he has been in jail for five years. No one gives them more quickly than a teacher or a minister."

There has, however, been a noticeable advance of late in the direction of taking account not only of "good character" but also of all the traits associated with "personality"; and techniques for doing this are gradually being devised, such as the genetic record and the psychological analysis, as well as the more refined intelligence and achievement tests.

The psychological tests are considered by many to be "a far better basis of prediction than were the high-school grades," and they are certainly as good an index of "character" as the loose testimonial system formerly relied upon. The newer tests have the great merit of taking account of the entire personality, instead of treating moral character as something apart.

Among the twenty-three institutions studied some suggestive combinations of selective devices were found. Those employed at a large university and at a medium-size college for men will be quoted at length.

An official of the former said:

> This office is in charge of intercollegiate and interscholastic academic relations. We keep very close to the preparatory schools and work upon the admissions problem. In the West certification is a universal practice. We are going behind the certification process and attempting to control it by visitation, but this does not go far enough. We have said to a number of schools, "We will examine your boys on the result of their last year's work only." That would be the best plan. There is 100 per cent. improvement if we impose objective, impersonal tests. If we do not provide an equivalent which may be selected in place of four years' Latin we do not secure as many high-school boys as we ought to have for the good of the college.
>
> The plan of admission by school certificate is very dangerous unless there is some objective standard sent out from the college. A high-school principal doesn't dare to withhold

[1] Philadelphia, 1926.

a certificate from a relative of the school board. I want to see the college board make an extension of the examination system to supplant certification. The dean studies the freshman class carefully to see what sort of men succeed in college. We rate the ability of a school, not alone on its ability to get a boy in, but on its ability to so prepare men that they will stay in. The vital issue in this respect is frequently the difference between two principals or headmasters. This quality is more or less disassociated from scholastic elements, and is largely a matter of personal influence. Such a school has the carrying quality. It is the product of men of great personality, who work less by precept and more by example.

I give the psychological tests to the freshmen. They reveal what boys are able but have not had proper training; who have not developed any real intellectual habits. Many of the ablest men have never been pushed in their academic life in school or in college. The crowning defect in the present system is that the abler boys are not pushed to anywhere near the limit of their possibilities. A boy comes here with no adequate system of habits. This happens with very many. We find striking individual cases of exceptionally able men who are unprepared, by attitude or habit, to do the work of which they are capable. They have not learned persistence, and jump around from one interest to another. We find a big gap between the ability and scholastic work of such able men. Effort is the element which is lacking, and effort is more and more found to be a matter of habit and attitude than of innate trends.

We must get at the ablest men. In the army tests our men stood at the top. They averaged 159. We have a very rigorous system of selection, but by other tests as well as intellectual. You get a proper quality of men in any student body if you get proper scholastic work. Problems of morale take care of themselves if you insist on proper attention to work. The state institution cannot choose its personnel. We can and do. This is a distinguishing feature of a real institution of higher learning.

The representative of the medium-size college said:

Last year, out of 1,400 applications about 600 were accepted. The first 30 per cent. were selected from the upper fourth of the 1,400 applicants, on the basis of reported scholarship. The next 10 per cent. were selected according to geographical distribution, west of the Mississippi and south of the Potomac. A third group, completing the first 50 per cent. were taken from the lists of the sons of alumni who made application. The last 50 per cent. were selected through three selective principles: (1) the blank filled out by the principal of the school from which the boy had graduated.

There are 329 schools reported, 249 public and 80 private; (2) the blank filled out by an alumnus selected by the candidate himself; (3) the paper filled out by an alumnus selected by us. Ordinarily this selection was made through the alumni associations in the different cities. The usual procedure is to send the list of the candidates from the territory covered by the alumni association, and the alumni association portions out the men to the alumni of the territory. This procedure has proven very satisfactory.

It has been the habit of the president to meet with the alumni and acquaint them with the policies and theories and doctrines of the university, and he has brought about a condition in which practically every boy has been personally interviewed by an alumnus before he comes, and comes, in many cases, with a letter.

I have picked a group of ten, called the freshman faculty committee, among whom the entering boys are distributed. They are given the intelligence tests and their records are filed along with their other papers. At the end of three weeks, the advisor of each boy visits his professors and asks about each boy. If he is not doing well, he is called before the advisor for an explanation. If he has fallen down in three studies, a warning is sent to his parents and to him. At the end of the semester the Council meets and discusses each man. Those that have failed in three subjects are usually automatically separated. There are cases, however, in which the men are interviewed, because of some possible extenuating circumstance. We have adopted the non-returnable ruling. That is, if a boy is separated for academic reasons, he can never return. The effect of this rule has been to make us very careful with the freshmen before they are marked failures or before they are separated.

Two striking results of this selective process have been discovered. Contrary to expectations, it has not increased the top rank of scholarship. It had been expected by the alumni that we would have a great number of Phi Beta Kappa men from such a group, but the facts are that just so many Phi Beta Kappa men exist and while we have a higher average level, we have no more Phi Beta Kappa men in ratio. A second surprise is that we have not decreased the separations.

PERSONNEL SERVICE

The value to the student of access to members of the faculty for counsel has already been stressed in the preceding chapter. At its best, the inquirers believe that the faculty-counsellor system could cover most of the student's personal problems. It is increasingly realized by administrators, however, that personnel service is too

varied in its requirements and too vital in its significance to be left to the uncertain resources of a single faculty counsellor, who is as likely as not overburdened with other duties. There is evident need for making available to each student the best knowledge and judgment to be found in the entire institution.[2]

Personnel service has three major aspects: curriculum matters, vocational guidance and problems of personal adjustment in moral, religious and social relations. As a rule, the first has been left to the faculty counsellor and the dean; the second to the placement bureau, and the third to the faculty counsellor or to chance. Only gradually are administrators here and there beginning to knit these fractional, haphazard functions into one service and to give it something approximating scientific and adequate attention. It will be illuminating to quote from the testimonies statements showing how the problem is being attacked.

One of the most carefully worked out plans is being installed at a large endowed coeducational university and is here described by an officer. The proposal for linking up with the secondary schools is worthy of notice.

> The university is now officially trying to get at personal elements of character and hoping that this material may serve in two ways. First, whether the individual promises to be a useful member of the college community. This study of entrants makes for less academic failure here than at most institutions. We do not take everybody. We feel we ought to detect failures before they come. Therefore, we are looking into other elements than grades, which will determine his community life and behavior. I recall one man who slumped because of too many activities. Had we studied him sufficiently, we could have detected this tendency and advised him accordingly. We should utilize the material to determine whether there are elements of character which, despite anything we do, hinder the fellow from making good, and thus advise him not to enter.
>
> Most important of all is to get a historic survey of the boy so as to enable the university to handle him as an individual. Success will depend upon, first, the response from the schools from which the boy comes—that is, whether the principals and teachers will coöperate in giving the actual facts. Most freshmen come from large schools and the principal is liable not to know them well. We hope this move on our part will stimulate high schools to study their pupils individually. High

[2] An illuminating discussion of the whole question, based on a special study, is presented in *Personal Procedure in Education*, by L. B. Hopkins, published by the American Council on Education.

schools claim they cannot give the data asked for, because of the time element involved. We hope they will develop personnel records, such as the University High School keeps.

The second factor in its success is the extent to which administrative officers in the university use the material so gained.

We expect to assign freshmen to various deans, sixty to one hundred per dean. We divide up the students in my own office and make a file for each dean in advance of registration. The names and information connected with these names are given to the dean, several days before registration, with a brief summary of facts about each student given. Thus the deans can make notation about things which seem significant. For example: tendency to cut classes, weak eyes, over-interest in athletics, home environment, etc. Anything that enables the dean to deal with the student as an individual. We put greatest emphasis upon the student's own story and what others say about him. The plan was worked out by a committee of seven, two from Arts, two from Education, two from Commerce, and myself. We worked for months, reported progress to larger groups, then sent it for criticism to the whole undergraduate faculty.

The dean here is a personal advisor and becoming more so. We have had an insufficient number of deans, so that little relation to the student was possible. Really no one could say much about the student, other than what he found on the scholastic record sheet. Last fall, we doubled the deans for the purpose of making personal contacts with each student, in personal matters. Also, the time each dean gives has been doubled.

A professor in a denominational college had the following to say on this subject:

Administratively, the character of the students is a central emphasis in our program. For example, we are now planning to develop a personnel department, with an expert in charge, to guide them vocationally and personally. This person is to be not a dean of men but a consultant, helping the students to direct their college training in view of definite vocations. He will be a high salaried specialist in vocational guidance.

The dean of a large coeducational university said:

I want to have a psychiatrist added to the department of psychology for help in mental cases. Also a bureau of educational and vocational guidance. The main contribution of my office is to be made not to the delinquents but to the most gifted students. I believe my chief energy should go to

> promising students. We receive and arrange records from all the instructors about each student, and send back to each instructor what essential information is necessary so that he is prepared to deal with a student's problems. This special attention to brighter students is very stimulating to them.

At a state university the pains taken to go beyond the ordinary scholastic tests were thus detailed by an assistant dean of women:

> Each freshman girl comes to me for an interview during the first few weeks of college. From her I find out why she came to college, if she has any plan as to a major study, if she is self-supporting or is coming to college to acquire a vocation in order to be self-supporting, what her church affiliations are, her attitude toward her studies, if she is interested in going out for activities, what her major sport is, her own estimation of her health, whether she has affiliated with any social group. All these facts are entered on a card which is kept with her records throughout college. Here also is her high-school record and alongside of that her first semester college record. Occasionally, if she is having academic or social troubles, she is called in for further interview and remarks concerning her improvement or retrogression are noted on the card. Any information from the doctor's office is also recorded.

The service to students in connection with their problems of moral, religious and social adjustment appears to be far less adequately provided for than the service in connection with curriculum and vocational problems. The root of the trouble with many students is in the realm of religious and sex problems, and such cases require skilful individual treatment. A distinguished psychiatrist has declared that "emotional instability, misdirected intellectual efforts and social maladjustments cause many young men and women to become college casualties."

While the personnel service in most of the institutions studied has been conceived in a fragmentary way the inquirers believe that the rising movement for a coördinated service is making steady progress. In some colleges the coördination is effected by the dean, in others a director of personnel or of student welfare has been appointed.

SUMMARY

The responsibilities of the administration for the aspects of undergraduate life presented in the successive chapters of this

volume have been alluded to in passing. The attempt will now be made to summarize the total impressions on this subject received by the inquirers.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Administrators need to be alert and tireless in promoting good conditions in the communities surrounding their institutions, in close coöperation with public and private agencies. Amusements, law enforcement, housing conditions and hospitality in homes and churches are among the most important matters.

Within the institution, the administrations generally keep in mind such matters as the beauty of the campus and the improvement of the dormitories, but they are not so likely to expend the thought and effort required to provide a rich variety of social, literary, dramatic and musical events, or to develop a public opinion that will frown on extravagance, indecency and factionalism.

ATTITUDE TOWARD STUDENTS

More significant than the attitude of the administration toward specific undergraduate activities is its underlying attitude toward the undergraduates. If it honestly espouses the ideal of a fellowship of learning, which the authors assume to be the proper ideal of higher education, then it will eschew autocratic or patronizing methods and will encourage student-faculty committees of investigation and control in self-government, athletics, and social groupings, and will allow to student publications freedom of suggestion and criticism regarding collegiate policies.

If an administration falls under the suspicion of the students as being unfair or cowardly its moral authority is seriously weakened. Such a situation was described, in somewhat vigorous language, by a student in an endowed college:

> The administration is not fair in its discipline. The devil of it is that a fellow goes to a celebration on the campus, takes one drink and gets kicked out, when a lot of fraternities at the same time belch out fifty to one hundred every Friday and Saturday night, and nothing is done about it. This may be partly because they are off the campus. But the administration is not getting at the problem at all. They haven't secured student coöperation on the problem. They seem to take the attitude "keep the front walk clean, in the back alley you can do as you like."

POLICIES ON UNDERGRADUATE ACTIVITIES

As has been suggested several times in the seven chapters dealing with undergraduate activities, the wise administrator will reject the false antithesis between curricular and extra-curricular activities and will conceive them all as one dynamic process. Both the curricular and the extra-curricular activities, when related to vital interests of the student, are indispensable in a complete education. The student was not far wrong who facetiously said "what the curriculum needs is to be made an activity."

The impressions gained by the inquirers regarding some of the most important functions of the administration, beginning with Student Groupings and ending with Religious Provisions and Agencies, are summarized in the following paragraphs:

1. *Groupings:* Where exclusive social groups prevail, some effective plan should be devised to enable every student who dedesires it to join a selective group, and thus prevent the invidious division into fraternity or club men and "independents." Each institution must, of course, evolve its own solution in the light of its spirit and traditions, but the plans suggested in Chapter II may be helpful. An active interfraternity council should be fostered which will stimulate scholarship, correct the abuses of rushing and postpone initiation. Intermingling among members of the different groups and among members and non-members should be brought about by encouraging interest groups that cut across exclusive group lines. Intra-mural sports readily lend themselves to this object.

The cost of chapter houses should be limited so as automatically to remove the menace of excessive maintenance costs.

The provision of more nearly adequate college dormitories and the requirement that all freshmen live in them would do much to exalt unity and democracy above group clannishness and partisanship.

If interest and purpose groups are as vitally important in education as has been maintained in earlier chapters, it would seem to be incumbent on wise administrators to take not only a tolerant attitude toward them but a positive interest in their welfare, and to make generous provision for meeting places and other facilities whenever necessary.

2. *Extra-curricular Activities:* The policy of the administration toward extra-curricular activities calls for a combination of daring

and wisdom: for daring, to accept whole-heartedly the principle that all the spontaneous activities of the undergraduates are vital and legitimate elements in that self-expression and discipline and socialization which make up education; for wisdom, to avoid robbing these activities of their spontaneity while relating them naturally to the more formal instruction and discipline embodied in the curriculum. It is doubtful if any problem in higher education demands a greater degree of inventiveness and courage.

The successful experience of a few institutions suggests that one good way to inaugurate such a change is to form faculty-student groups for the discussion of specific problems involved in the unification of required and voluntary activities.

3. *Athletics:* The primary responsibility for giving effect to progressive athletic policies, like those suggested at the end of Chapter IV, lies on the administration, although it is obvious that the coöperation of faculty, alumni and students in various degrees will need to be won. Three specific measures appear to constitute a minimum program: Place the control of intercollegiate athletics predominantly in the hands of the faculty; make coaches regular members of the faculty; lay emphasis on intra-mural sports by furnishing the requisite facilities and supervision. The growing roll of institutions that are adopting these measures should make it progressively easier for administrators in other institutions to win the cordial support of alumni and students for their inauguration.

4. *Social Relations of Men and Women:* The wise administrator is fully aware of the special danger of excessive regulation of so personal a matter as the social intercourse of men and women undergraduates. Authorities are agreed, however, that administrations are blameworthy if they do not do their utmost to make conditions favorable to wholesome intercourse between them. As pointed out in Chapter V, this involves at least four things: an intimate understanding of conditions touching the relations between men and women in the college community and in their week-end rendezvous; the provision of instruction regarding sex in its social and psychic as well as physical aspects; a greater emphasis on constructive than on restrictive measures, by fostering athletic, social and intellectual activities that will sublimate the sex interest; and provision for a personnel service that will put at the disposal of every student the most expert and sympathetic guidance on moral and spiritual no less than on educational and vocational lines.

5. *Student Government:* Any thoroughgoing policy with reference to a student government and honor system will require a critical examination of the principles on which it rests. If it be found that those principles are fear, not emulation; penalty and repression, not reclamation and development; reproduction of information, not power to think and solve real problems; student participation only a rubber-stamping of administration rulings, not a bona-fide partnership—then no tinkering with the system will avail to make it an educational tool in any vital sense. It would need to be remade. But if good and bad elements are found mixed, then reform may not need to be so drastic; but it may call for equal determination on the part of the administration to overcome complacent satisfaction with the second best.

6. *Religious Agencies:* The duty of administrators with reference to the religious agencies working among undergraduates obviously would be quite different in a state university and in a denominational college. There are, however, certain principles bearing on the attitude of administrators toward religion as a whole which are generally applicable.

If education be conceived as the development of the entire personality for effective living, then no administration can be indifferent to means for the development of students religiously.

As a subject in the curriculum religious courses should be taught as objectively and scientifically as any other course. The curriculum should deal as fairly by the courses on religion as by other major subjects. Whether a course has religious value or not depends primarily on the personality of the teacher. Any subject may be the medium of religious motives and ideas, but if religious worship is held under official auspices, it should be of a quality to command the respect and meet the deeper needs of students and teachers.

To religious agencies should be given all practicable facilities; and administrators in their personal capacity, at least, should support efforts to bring about coördination among these agencies and between them and the religious provisions of the institution.

The principle of voluntary activity, which is so vital to education as a whole, is especially vital to religious life, and administrators will therefore give hearty encouragement to spontaneous religious expression and organization by students and faculty.

APPENDIX

CHART GIVING CERTAIN FACTS REGARDING THE TWENTY-THREE INSTITUTIONS

Name of Institution	*Type and Date of Foundation*	*Location*	*Size of City*	*Type and Size of Student Body* 1	*Religious Traditions*	*Chapel Services*
Amherst	Privately controlled 1821	Amherst, Mass.	5,500	Men, 697	Non-sectarian. Formerly educated for the ministry	Required daily
Bucknell	Privately controlled 1846	Lewisburg, Pa.	5,000	Co-ed: Men, 715 Women, 350	Non-sectarian. Baptist affiliations	Required bi-weekly except for Seniors
Chicago	Privately controlled 1892	Chicago, Ill.	2,702,000	Co-ed: Men, 6,908 Women, 7,564	Non-sectarian. Early Baptist influence	Voluntary daily
Cornell	Privately controlled and State 1865	Ithaca, N. Y.	17,000	Co-ed: Men, 4,430 Women, 1,388	Non-sectarian	Voluntary Sunday only
Dartmouth	Privately controlled 1769	Hanover, N. H.	5,000	Men, 2,146	Non-sectarian	Required Sunday. Voluntary daily
Grinnell	Privately controlled 1847	Grinnell, Ia.	5,350	Co-ed: Men, 387 Women, 351	Congregational affiliations	Voluntary daily
Illinois	State 1867	Urbana, Ill.	10,200	Co-ed: Men, 9,522 Women, 3,877	Non-sectarian	None
Kansas	State 1866	Lawrence, Kan.	12,500	Co-ed: Men, 3,210 Women, 2,323	Non-sectarian	None
Massachusetts Agricultural College	State 1863	Amherst, Mass.	5,500	Co-ed: Men, 469 Women, 103	Non-sectarian	Required twice a week and Sunday
Michigan	State 1837	Ann Arbor, Mich.	19,500	Co-ed: 2 Men, 8,609 Women, 4,086	Non-sectarian	None

Middlebury	Privately controlled 1800	Middlebury, Vt.	5,000	Co-ed: Men, 315 Women, 280	Non-sectarian	Required daily
Mount Holyoke	Privately controlled 1837	South Hadley, Mass.	5,500	Women, 1,024	Non-sectarian. Christian emphasis	Required daily
Ohio Wesleyan	Privately controlled 1842	Delaware, Ohio	8,800	Co-ed: 1,997 [3]	Methodist Episcopal, but non-sectarian	Required daily
Pennsylvania	Privately controlled 1847	Philadelphia, Pa.	1,824,000	Co-ed: Men, 12,112 Women, 5,215	Non-sectarian	Voluntary daily
Princeton	Privately controlled 1746	Princeton, N. J.	5,900	Men, 2,466	Non-sectarian. Presbyterian influence	Required one-half of Sunday services per quarter. Voluntary daily
Randolph-Macon	Privately controlled 1893	Ashland, Va.	5,000	Women, 841	Methodist Episcopal South	Required 5 times a week and Sunday evening
Rockford	Privately controlled 1847	Rockford, Ill.	65,700	Women, 420 [4]	Non-sectarian. Christian emphasis	Voluntary, but an "obligation"
Smith	Privately controlled 1871	Northampton, Mass.	22,000	Women, 2,158	Non-sectarian. Christian emphasis	Required 4 times a week
Swarthmore	Privately controlled 1864	Swarthmore, Pa.	5,000	Co-ed: Men, 250 [4] Women, 250 [4]	Religious Society of Friends, but non-sectarian	Required daily
Wabash	Privately controlled 1832	Crawfordsville, Ind.	10,150	Men, 521	Presbyterian	Required 5 times a week
Wellesley	Privately controlled 1875	Wellesley, Mass.	6,300	Women, 1,599	Non-sectarian. Christian emphasis	Voluntary daily
Wisconsin	State 1848	Madison, Wis.	38,400	Co-ed: Men, 5,083 Women, 3,248	Non-sectarian	None
Yale	Privately controlled 1701	New Haven, Conn.	163,000	Men, 5,294 [5]	Non-sectarian. Congregational influence	Voluntary [6] daily

1 Information (1925-26) from *American Universities and Colleges* (American Council on Education). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
2 Figures include 1,831 summer-school students.
3 Information not given for men and women separately.
4 Enrollment limited to this number.
5 Though not regarded in this study as coeducational, Yale enrols a small number of women students.
6 The traditional chapel requirement was abolished in 1927.

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